

Socialist Party Makes Solid Gains

Meager Returns Show a Substantial Growth--Thousands Disfranchised--Unemployed Debarred From Expression at the Ballot--New York Gains Fifteen Per Cent--Socialists Encouraged.

Special to Montana News:

NEW YORK, NOV. 4.—RETURNS ARE TOO MEAGER TO MAKE AN ESTIMATE OF THE VOTE IN THE EAST. BUT A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IS ASSURED. GREATER NEW YORK GAINS AND THE STATE WILL GIVE AN INCREASE OF AT LEAST 15 PER CENT. SYRACUSE, SCHENECTADY, AND JAMESTOWN REPORT GREATEST INCREASES. HILQUIT HAS BEEN DEFEATED IN THE NINTH DISTRICT FOR CONGRESS. REPUBLICANS KNIFED THEIR OWN CANDIDATE TO SUPPORT A DEMOCRAT AND PREVENT THE ELECTION OF A SOCIALIST. CONNECTICUT CITIES ARE SHOWING UP WELL, ESPECIALLY HARTFORD, BRIDGEPORT AND DANBURY. MASSACHUSETTS WILL MAKE A POOR SHOWING EVIDENTLY; ONLY LYNN AND WORCESTER SO FAR REPORT GAINS. PENNSYLVANIA REPORTS INDICATE FINE INCREASE. PITTSBURGH, PHILADELPHIA, NEWCASTLE, JOHNSTOWN, HARRISBURG MAKING SOLID GAINS. IT IS PECULIAR THAT SEVERAL LARGE CITIES HAVE FALLEN OFF IN VOTE AMIDST A GENERAL INCREASE. AMONG THESE CITIES ARE NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, ROCHESTER, N. Y., SPRINGFIELD, MASS., AND PORTLAND, MAINE. NO CANDIDATES ARE AS YET REPORTED AS ELECTED.

—Evening Call.

As is the custom at all elections the Socialist returns are not reported to any extent and it is impossible at this date to give a satisfactory estimate of the vote, except as it is sent in by socialists.

Simons of Chicago claims that Bryan got a large part of the vote that went to the Socialists four years ago. Chicago is reported 18,000 whereas four years ago it was 47,000.

Oregon gives 5,500 for Debs. It is reported that Milwaukee has lost votes although the report is not confirmed.

RAVALLI COUNTY. Hamilton. Debs, 68; Duncan, 50; Hazelton, 31.

POWELL COUNTY. Ovando. Mable 15, Platt 14, Schnick 14, Duncan 13, Hazelton 13, Buzzell —, Maury 14, Harvey 13, Parr 14, Powers 13, Castle 13, Lyons 14, Gilchrist 13, Billings 13.

GALLATIN COUNTY. Manhattan. Below you will find a list of the Socialist candidates and the number of votes each received in precinct No. 4, Manhattan. I was appointed as one of the judges, therefore I know that this count is correct. I hope that all of the other locals will be able to put up as many votes according to their size as we have.

—CHAS. MONROE.

Mable 20, Platt 20, Schnick 20, Duncan 20, Hazelton 19, Buzzell 19, Maury 19, Harvey 19, Parr 19, Powers 19, Castle 19, Lyons 19, Peugh 19, Gilchrist 19, Billings 18, Kruse 19, Redfield 19, Peacock 18, Topel 18, Carr 17, Bailey 17, Hoff 15, Rushamer 17, Werner 16, McKusker 15, Fox 15, Cornelius 18, Sorenson 14, Bowles 16.

Lombard, Mont., Nov. 3. Montana News:

I hereby give you the official vote of Lombard, Mont.

Democrats 5—Republicans 10; Socialists 1.

Three legal Socialist voters, including myself had to go out of town to vote, and did so.

We, the members of the Socialist party at this place can positively state that there are 18 more here who would have voted the straight Socialist ticket if it hadn't been for being disfranchised by the one-year limit in the state.

GREELEY BAKER, SIMPSON MAXWELL, ALFRED DUVAL. Party Members.

GALLATIN COUNTY. Maudlow, Mont., Nov. 4. Montana News:

Please find below the votes of Maudlow precincts for the head of the ticket:

Republicans 19, Democrats 19, Socialists 2.

This is an independent American farmer precinct and they know nothing about Socialism.

—J. B. CAINE.

CHOTEAU COUNTY. Fort Benton.

Mable, 10; Platt, 8; Schnick, 9; Duncan, 5; Hazelton, 5; Buzzell, 10; Maury, 9; Harvey, 9; Parr, 6; Powers, 10; Castle, 8; Lyons, 9; Peugh, 7; Gilchrist, 7; Billings, 6; Bush, 7; Hagen, 17; Thompson, 4; Swason, 4; Brunner, 4; Nystrom, 5; Ryan, 7; Martin, 6; Ferbach, 4; Miller, 6; Goss, 7; Donahue, 5.

SILVER BOW COUNTY.

Hazelton, 1901; Buzzell, 1939; Maury, 2071; Harvey, 2117; Castle, 2105; Lyons, 2114; Auditor, Curran, 1737; Constables, Davis, 1852; Johnson, 1777; Clerk and Recorder, O'Brien, 1784; Public Administrator, Stenberg, 1789; County Commissioner, Pierce, 1847; Railroad Commissioner, Pough 2119, Gilchrist, 1124, Billings, 1878; Clerk of Court, Robinson, 1777; County Attorney, O'Malley, 1914; Judges, McHugh 1771, Jacobson 1937; Surveyor, Sherman, 1768; Assessor, Cox, 1882; Justices, Ambrose 2095, McManus 1871; School Superintendent, Edith Clinch, 1783; Treasurer, James J. Fagan, 1729; Sheriff, Harvey A. Smith, 1294.

Philadelphia polled 5,152 votes, a gain of 1888. Reports show a net gain of 50 per cent in counties where the vote is complete.

St. Louis polled 12,000 votes.

State Secretary Comrade Harris of Nevada reports the expulsion of Patrick Toohy of Local Goldfield for treason to the cause, having fused with the Independents' league.

Three markets are a battlefield on which the capitalists must fight each other for a share in the spoils of labor.

The process and progress of capitalism in every field of labor results in a class struggle, merciless and irrepressible, which can only end with the advent of socialism.

LUCIAN SANIAL.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES AND SOCIALISM.

(By Eugene V. Debs.)

Railroad employes in train service are perhaps more thoroughly organized than are the workers in any other department of industry. According to the report of the interstate commerce commission, in 1906 there were in round numbers 282,000 train service employes on the railroads of the United States, the classification including engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, and switchmen. In the same year the organizations of these respective classes of employes reported a combined membership of 279,000. A small percentage of this membership is no longer employed in railroad service and another small percentage is employed in Canada and Mexico. Deducting 25,000 from the total membership to cover these items (and this may be taken as a liberal allowance) it will be seen that but 31,000 of the total number of train service employes in the United States are unorganized. It is perfectly safe to say that at least 95 per cent of this unorganized body is composed of young and inexperienced men who have not been long enough in the service to become eligible for membership in the organizations of their respective classes. Probably not more than one per cent of the train service employes on the railroads of the United States, who are eligible to membership in the various organizations, remains unorganized.

Notwithstanding this very complete organization it is somewhat paradoxical that railroad employes as a rule are densely ignorant of the real spirit and purpose of the trade union movement. They know very little concerning the traditions and principles of unionism and absolutely nothing of its history. Of economics they are as glib as knowledge as babes. It is true they have been taught that the man who takes the job of another who is on strike is a scab, but this teaching has its limitations and qualifications, as it is not considered disgraceful for the members of one organization to take the places of striking members of another organization when they have agreements with their employers establishing rates of wages and conditions of labor for a stated period of time. In other words, it is considered of more importance to maintain the so-called sacredness of contract than to lend assistance and support to fellow wage-workers in time of strike.

In line with this policy we find the engineers taking the places of striking firemen on the Southern Pacific, and assuring the managers of the Norfolk & Western during the recent threatened strike of the firemen that if the firemen went out they (the engineers) would guarantee that the trains would be kept moving. We also find the trainmen taking the places of switchmen whenever the latter strike for better wages or more bearable conditions of employment, always pleading the necessity of keeping their agreements with the railroad companies to relieve themselves of the odium of scabbing. The Switchmen's union, by the way, is the only one of the railroad brotherhoods that is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A proposition to affiliate with the federation was put to a vote of the members of the Firemen's Brotherhood a few years ago, and was defeated by a large majority.

With the possible exception of the Switchmen's union each of the railroad organizations is run on the theory that the interests of labor and capital are identical. P. M. Arthur, who was for many years before his death chief of the Engineers' Brotherhood, always sought to keep his organization free from what he denominated "entangling alliances" with other organizations. Mr. Arthur's teaching, which was accepted as the inspired utterance of superhuman intelligence by the members of his organization generally, was that a four dollar a day man has no interest in common with a two dollar a day man. Mr. Stone, the present chief of the engineers, is a worthy pupil of his predecessor in office, and in general it may with truth be said that the spirit of classiness and isolation which finds expression in Mr. Arthur's teaching is to all intents and purposes the ruling principle of the railroad organizations today.

How little they are in touch with the spirit and purpose of the general labor movement may be inferred from the fact that, in response to public demand for protection against railroad accidents, our capitalist congress recently

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THE ANTIQUITY OF TRADE UNIONISM

Flavius Josephus in his history of the Jews makes elaborate mention of Solomon's temple, as having been built in a large degree by the trade unions under Hiram, a man of extraordinary skill in the building crafts. Not willing to accept our own interpretation of Josephus, we refer the reader to the remarks of Granier upon this subject; as he seems to have settled it that they were organized trades.

Little doubt can be entertained that iron, at the time of Numa (700 B. C.), was also in use in Rome. Yet there is no mention made in proof that Numa organized the ferrarii or iron workers, of whom Orelli furnishes two inscriptions, one of which represents a genuine trade union, which proves beyond any counter evidence that the iron workers were organized.

But abundant evidence exists in the later laws restricting organization, and these laws stand among the excused in the list of thirty-five unions of the code of Theodosius. If any further doubt can possibly remain as to the use of iron by blacksmiths, forgers and finishers at the time of Numa, we have only to refer the critic to Homer, and the celebrated historic inscription called the Arundelian slab, also to the Bible.

Bread was another commodity, the supply of which became largely the task of the trade unions from very early times. The ancient method of baking differed little from that of the present day. The ancient bakers' unions, then, were in nearly all respects

identical with the bakers' unions in New York city today.

We have abundance of testimony regarding the unions of bakers. A corpus pastillariorum mentioned by Muratori was one of the post-Christian communes. The pastillarii were manufacturers of daily loaves, biscuits, cakes and buns. * * * It required a large force of workmen in those days to pound up and bake the three different kinds of bread consumed by the whole people, rich and poor, of Rome.

But these men, during a cycle of 700 years, were organized, and they enjoyed a trade union in all probability from long before the time of Numa.—C. Osborn Ward in the Social-Democratic Herald.

SESSION OF SUFFRAGISTS AT BUFFALO, N. Y., IS OVER

In closing the fortieth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage association held at Buffalo, President Anna H. Shaw said: "We never have had a more instructive convention than this. We will go home with greater enthusiasm and a greater determination to continue the struggle, and, if need be, enter upon a militant campaign for our birthright."

Resolutions were adopted congratulating the women of Great Britain on their gallant fight for the franchise; favoring equal pay for women and men in all public and private employment an eight-hour workday and efficient laws for the prevention of the evils of child labor.

The resolutions affirm that wage-earning women the same as wage-earning men, need their votes for their own protection, and that married women especially need votes for the protection of their homes and children.

TO ROCKEFELLER

Here is a story of a fellow who wanted to emulate you and failed. It is a true story that happened during the San Francisco earthquake, and you may have read it in the papers. The whole world knows it. When the city was shattered and the people were shaken with grief and disaster, there was one clever baker who did not lose his head, and who kept a commercial eye on the situation. Many bakeries were destroyed, and he knew that bread would be in great demand. (Bread, mind you, like kerosene, is something that the people must have.) So he baked a large supply, and the next morning he was on the market selling his bread at a dollar a loaf. This was a clever commercial move and he would have fared well. But—a soldier shot him! The ambitious baker fell dead, the soldier was applauded and the bread was confiscated.

Now, you are doing the same thing that the baker wanted to do and yet you are not shot. By comparison, the baker's methods seem merciful and insignificant. While people can find many substitutes for bread, they cannot find a substitute for kerosene. The majority of the people cannot afford gas, and electricity is out of the question. While the baker meant to continue the operations for a day or two you have been holding the people up now for almost half a century. While he confined his extortion to one small city you extended yours over the entire nation. You hold up millions of poor people (those who use kerosene are poor) and make them turn over to you millions of dollars every year! And with all that, you are neither imprisoned nor shot. Nay more, you are actually at the head of a Bible class!

Here lies your art and your power and your genius! We want you to direct the operations of your less fortunate brethren, and you cannot do it too soon. As I said, the need is great and many of us must make crime the means of livelihood. We are forced to do the things that you are doing, but we don't know how. We have not your experience, and it is a great pity that many, in their effort to emulate you, end in prison and die on the gallows.—Hyman Strunsky in Daily Call.

AFTER THE WAR.

The summer of 1865 saw four millions of men standing where there was room for but two millions. Millions were coming fast, distress was making itself felt in many places. Those who had served as soldiers in the northern army had received such small pay that they had saved nothing, and the soldiers of the southern army had served for nothing. The soldiers of the civil war had no opportunity, while in the service, of paying any attention to their private interests. They had no opportunity while the war was going on to engage in the profitable business of "blockade running"; they could not interest themselves in contracting with the government for the sale of "shoddy" clothing; they were denied the privi-

lege of making cheap shoes for large prices to sell to the government for the use of the soldiers; they were not permitted to engage in speculation in gold, for Wall street had a monopoly of that; they had no chance to engage in the gambling and speculation which began to run riot while the very life of the nation was hanging in the balance, and while they were periling life, limb and happiness to maintain the unity and honor of the nation, consequently they were through sheer necessity obliged to offer their services to employers for less than half what they were worth in order to maintain life, and wherever they did find employment, it was where others had been displaced.

An advertisement for a mechanic, that would, during the war, run a whole week before an applicant would make his appearance, would bring a dozen to the door of the factory or mill, before the ink was dry on the paper in which it appeared, in the autumn of 1865. With so many men competing for the same position, it became an easy matter for the employer of labor to dictate what wages he should pay.

MAKING CRIMINALS

The making of criminals is a very important American industry. Proceed as follows:

Find out something that a large number of people desire to do and then make a law against it. The law should be sufficiently elastic to admit of exceptions when the public good or the offender's purse seems to demand it.

After the law is made hire a few good policemen to lie in wait for offenders. It is necessary to catch a criminal before you make him. Many a man has remained good all his life by not being caught. After you get hold of one he will probably tell you that he did not know the law. If he does, tell him that ignorance of the law excuses no one. If he insists, tell him that even the lawyers don't know the law, as, otherwise, there would not be so many of them. If he insists further, crack him over the head, tell him to shut up. If the man has no money at all, crack him in the head in the first place.

Next, publish his name in all the newspapers. This is for two reasons: First, to make him more of a criminal, and second, to show that the police department is doing its duty.

Next, chuck him into an unpleasant place as can be devised. At night surround him with a choice collection of vermin. For this purpose an entomologist should be consulted. In the daytime make him work like a dog, but do not give him anything for it. Give it to some one else. Perhaps the best way to dispose of the surplus product is by the contract system, although there are other forms of graft nearly as good.

After a few years of this he is probably a full-fledged criminal. In order to test your work, turn him loose without any money or any friends. If he comes back in a short time you have succeeded. If not, you have failed; but it usually works.—Ellis O. Jones in Life.

PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE LABOR

What is the share of labor in its product?

The social importance and economic character of the problem frequently stated in this form are sufficiently obvious. But in order to fully understand the process through which the solution of it was reached, it is first necessary to clearly distinguish between productive and unproductive labor.

By this expression, PRODUCTIVE LABOR, is meant every kind of human exertion, physical and mental, absolutely required to produce MATERIAL WEALTH, and to transport and distribute the portion of that wealth which is produced at a distance from the places where it is consumed or otherwise used.

No other labor is embodied in material products. Consequently no other labor is a factor in the value of those products. Therefore, all other labor must be termed unproductive in the strictly economic sense of the word, although some parts of it (such, for instance, as the artistic, the educational, and the medical professions), are socially useful, or beneficent, or even indispensable.

Observe that the remuneration of the real labor which is termed "unproductive," and which chiefly consists in domestic, personal and certain kinds of professional service, must of necessity take the form of material products. It is therefore derived, directly or indirectly, from productive labor, without which the unproductive workers, as well as the non-workers, could not exist. It comes directly from that source when the service is rendered to a productive worker and is paid for out of his share in the value of his product; and indirectly when the service is rendered to an ex-

ploiter of labor and paid for out of his profit.

Observe also, in this connection, that the rates of wages in unproductive occupations are, upon the whole, determined by the rates of wages in productive employments.

Under the head of productive labor comes the labor usefully employed in the productive processes of the following industries: Agriculture, forestry, mining, quarrying, fishing, manufacturing and the hand trades; also, as stated above, in transporting and distributing their products.

Of the 29,073,000 persons, 10 years old and over, reported in the census of 1900 as engaged in occupations, 20,244,000 contributed to the production of material wealth. But even in that year the capitalist prosperity, many of them could get no employment for more or less extended periods of time.

Under the head of unproductive labor may be specially mentioned:

The falsely styled "labor," economically useless and socially harmful, of persons figuring in the census as chief participants in the actual work of producing, transporting and distributing wealth, but whose only activity in connection with the productive industries consists in exploiting the real workers and in devising schemes for the enlargement of their own private possessions; such possessions enabling them, as "captains of industry," "merchant princes," "railroad kings," etc., to despotically govern production, to arbitrarily determine the avenues and conditions of employment, to wrongfully appropriate all the fruits of productive labor over and above the pittance required to barely sustain the life of the workers in their absolute dependence, and even to heartlessly throw vast numbers of them into enforced idleness and extreme poverty.

2. Likewise the falsely styled "labor" of speculators in stocks, bonds, produce, real estate, etc., and, in addition, the actual labor of the many accountants, clerks, messengers, agents, etc., directly or indirectly employed by them and thus diverted from socially useless pursuits.

3. The obviously unproductive labor of domestic servants, soldiers, lawyers and many other occupations induced by the social conditions and consequent modes of life under capitalism.

4. The large amount of labor which, qualified for productive work by its training in industries and trades, is kept out of employment and therefore wasted.

The total value of production in 1900 was \$24,500,000,000. The total value of the labor power used in production was \$5,815,000,000. Therefore the share of productive labor in its product, as it appeared in the census year 1900 was 23.74 per cent, or less than one quarter. The exploiters of productive labor received 76.24 per cent of its product.

This summary glaringly exposes in the light of its dry figures the capitalist process of labor exploitation. Taken as a body the productive workers get less than one-quarter of the product of their labor power, while the capitalists, taken as a body, get more than three-quarters of that product. It is thus plainly seen that all profit comes from paying for labor power a less value than it produces. But the division of that enormous mass of profit among the individual members of the capitalist class, requires another process which in the present state of capitalist organization is carried on by means of three markets; namely, a primary market, where the product, consisting chiefly in raw material, is sold at the places of production; a wholesale market, where the product, consisting partly in materials and partly in finished articles, is sold in large blocks; and the final market, where the product is sold at retail to the consumers. These

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THE ELECTION WEATHERVANE.

Socialists will have no difficulty in interpreting the results as told by the results at the ballot box. The election has gone overwhelmingly to the trusts, the plutocratic and the capitalist machine. The iron rule of capital and profits has it all its own way. Nothing could be better from the standpoint of proletarian social evolution. There will now be no mystic curtain of illusions between the working man and the government. He knows it is all for him, all in the hands of those who oppress him. He can see more clearly the source of his oppressions; he will understand more clearly when the socialists hand him the only possible plan of emancipation. Socialists all over the country are satisfied, nay jubilant that the election went as it did. Now we can pull up our sleeves and do business. As to the socialist vote. It is not so large as we were led to expect. It fell off in some places. It forged ahead bravely in others. We have lost thousands and thousands of votes because the workers are deprived of the right to vote. These disfranchised socialists that formed such a large part of the cheering crowds that welcomed Debs have deceived the calculations of even the shrewdest politicians in regard to the vote. But the German socialists voted in the years gone by under still greater franchise disadvantages, and still the vote grew, wonderfully, marvelously. History is repeating here in America. There is a tendency towards too much inflation and hubbub in our press, with not enough solid grounding in instruction on socialist principles and careful, constructive and thorough organization. If there is a good party it will get the votes. Agitate, educate, organize.

PARTY REFERENDUMS.

The manner in which the referendums of the Montana Socialist party are put out are a disgrace to democratic government and a most severe comment upon the morale of the party. The members of the party have become utterly confused as to the business because nothing positive is accomplished or settled. The party seems utterly unable to provide itself with a state secretary. Now, one month after the state committee chose a new state secretary, a referendum is to be put out asking the membership whether it will sustain the action of the state committee or not. If the action is sustained McDowall of Billings will be secretary. If the action is not sustained Graham will still be secretary. The referendum is not made returnable till November 21, so in any case there will be no settled condition of affairs in the state office until that time. Billings refused to call for a referendum, being satisfied with things as they are, but, according to Comrade McDowall's letter to the state committee, Duncan got Butte to call for the referendum. Bozeman, Norris and Missoula have also joined in the call.

STATE COMMITTEE MINUTES.

The News prints this week what is being sent to the locals in lieu of the minutes of the State Committee meeting. It is sent over a month after the committee meeting took place. Notice was sent with the document that these minutes were not to be printed in the paper. This is in line with the secrecy and hiding of the party work that has been practiced for so many years by the Montana Socialist party, and which the News refuses to be a party to. It is the custom of the Socialist Party everywhere to publish its minutes. The national office sends a bulletin to every newspaper in the country of a full report of all its proceedings, and the Montana Socialist Party should be forced by its members to do its business in the open according to party regulations. The report that is being submitted was not sent in by the secretary of the State Committee, but by the Reverend L. J. Duncan, and is in his handwriting; and it is so full of gross errors that it bears all the earmarks of being that gentleman's account of the meeting as he wishes to present it. Moreover it is the province of every socialist to criticize freely the acts of any bodies or persons intrusted with

the business and welfare of the Socialist Party; and it is upon such well-known party blunders that the News points out any blunders made by the State Committee while in session. The members should remember that no acts of any bodies or officials in the Socialist party are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, but they are all subject to the referendum of the party. It will be observed that the minutes state that L. J. Duncan and A. T. Harvey were elected PERMANENT chairman and secretary of the State Committee. This is contrary to all socialist methods of doing business. No socialist body has a permanent chairman. Even the national executive committee changes its chairman at every session. So it is a direct violation of the party regulations that there should be any PERMANENT chairman and secretary.

Part ymembers should take especial notice that the State Committee took upon itself to submit a new constitution along with the one prepared and passed by the convention. This leaves the Montana Socialist party swinging in the air between four constitutions—the one of four years ago, which is the printed copy now in the hands of the locals, if they have any—the one passed by the convention two years ago, which was never submitted to referendum till just before the last convention met—the one passed by the last convention, which has never been submitted to referendum yet—and the NEW ONE which the State Committee undertook to make. The CONVENTION is the only authorized body in every organization to make constitutions. The State Committee has no business whatever to submit constitutions, or to befuddle the minds of the voters by doing so.

Special attention should be given to what is said concerning the auditing of the party books. These books have not been audited for years. The party knows nothing of its receipts or disbursements. A committee was appointed by the convention to audit the books, Reverend L. J. Duncan being chairman. It has been impossible to get a report from the auditing committee. Mr. Duncan stated that the books were in such wretched condition that nothing of the business could ever be learned from the books. This does not appear in the "minutes". No report whatever has been made on the Montana News books. So it can be seen how this auditing committee is making good its trust from the party. The worst misstatements in the "minutes" relate to the so-called "charges" of Charles Tipton, the printer, against Graham. This gives an altogether erroneous impression of what actually occurred. Comrade Stoner was chosen manager of the News by the convention. When Stoner left he gave Comrade Tipton the power of attorney to act as manager. For three years it has been necessary for some official body of the party to look into the Montana News affairs. The convention two years ago failed to do it. The last convention appointed a committee to act, but this was stamped by Duncan and others of Butte and failed to return a report. Local Helena had its charges against Graham well prepared but it was denied a hearing. Tipton came as a representative of those that had complaints in his capacity as manager of the News. He was making no personal charges whatever, simply explaining conditions as they existed, and it is ridiculous to place him in the light that he had a personal grievance. Instead of the "fullest latitude" being given to Comrade Tipton as the "minutes" state, he was shut off before he had half presented his case, and the most weighty matters were not taken under consideration at all, and the insinuation that there were ulterior motives in Comrade Tipton's actions as manager was most unjust, and for Duncan to make the statement in his report that nothing of a serious nature was being presented when the committee had admitted the incompetency in the management is certainly not justified by the circumstances.

The vote of censure passed on Local Helena for its attempt to safeguard the party interests has been discussed before and the demand of Local Helena for a referendum should be thoughtfully considered by every socialist in the state. The Reverend Duncan also neglected to state that he was the one to make the motion to move the Montana News to Butte.

There is also a gross misrepresentation of Mrs. Hazlett's financial relation to the News. At the time of the convention a number of comrades privately gave Mrs. Hazlett \$199 so that she might have some money of her own for her pressing needs. The convention adjourned without making the slightest provision for the News after refusing to even look into its condition. Mrs. Hazlett loaned the money to pay the help, and she asked the State Committee to pay this back to her; which they promised effusively as usual, and as usual did nothing. The remaining sum she had nothing to do with, and protested against its appearing in evidence in any way. Mrs. Hazlett has never received any salary for her work, and if an actual

statement of services was made the account would present a very different appearance.

The party should demand the bona fide minutes of the meeting as prepared by the secretary.

LABOR MEN WITH CAPITALIST MINDS.

The result of the election has been the most stunning rebuke to those labor leaders and their dupes who thought they could beat the capitalist political shell game, ever administered by the political trust. Gompers and his labor "pull" has simply been slapped to a frazzle. Montana working men may now behold the ruins. Sentiment and gush on a fake economic principle will never make any impression on American labor. Not until the working man is class conscious, and votes for the interest of his class based on sound sociological principles, will he ever be able to wield any class power. And when a working man becomes class conscious he doesn't fool around with any parties engineered by the capitalists, he votes the Socialist ticket and tries to change the system intelligently. But this labor fiasco will probably have its lesson, and four years from now American workers may be counted on to go into politics with more sense.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from Page One.)

found it necessary to pass a law establishing a maximum working day of sixteen hours for railroad employes in train service. This law has been commended and hailed as a boon both by the leaders and rank and file of the railroad organizations, notwithstanding that the eight-hour day has been a cardinal principle of the labor movement for a generation past, and some of the greatest battles in labor history have been fought for the recognition of that principle.

It thus becomes apparent that the railroad organizations are not trade unions in any true sense of the term. Their so-called "protective" features are a huge farce, productive of absolutely no benefit to the members who pay the freight, and useful only to furnish inspiring themes of oratory for the leaders at convention time. Working conditions and wages are in the last analysis always determined by the will of the railroad managers, who are adepts in playing one organization against another, and who "recognize" the right of their employes to organize for their own protection only when it suits them to do so. The organizations have neither connection with nor influence upon the general labor movement, and are in reality merely insurance associations, organized on the assessment plan, whose only useful function is to give protection to their members in the event of total disability or death. In this field they have accomplished much good by providing safe insurance at reasonable rates for a great body of men who are unable to procure regular insurance because of the extra hazardous nature of their employment.

As might naturally be expected of a body of workers so greatly isolated from the general labor movement, filed with a spirit of exclusiveness, and having no proper conception of the common interests of all wage workers, socialism among railroad employes has been a matter of comparatively slow growth. Here and there in isolated cases the true philosophy of working class economics has taken root in the minds of individuals and given rise to sporadic attempts to bring socialism to the knowledge of the rank and file, but these attempts have generally been repudiated and condemned by the leaders, and as a result the great mass of railroad labor still continues to parrot the untruth that the interests of labor and capital are identical and seems firm in the belief that what is good for the railroads must be good for their employes.

Notwithstanding this attitude it must not be assumed that railroad employes are lacking in intelligence. On the contrary, taken as a class they are far above the average in intelligence, and it is certain that when they do begin to reason and act for themselves in economic matters they are destined to play an important part in the tragedy of working class emancipation. Their indifference to this class struggle has proceeded mainly from the nature of their organizations and the character of their leadership, coupled with the isolation of their employment from the general field of labor and the fact that their wage schedules, owing to the extra hazardous nature of their employment and the necessity of preliminary training and experience, have been maintained at a rate slightly above the average. They have therefore, been measurably removed from the influence of those forces that operate constantly to depress the economic condition of the workers.

But within the past year the smug complacency with which the railroad employes have been taught to regard his position in the scheme of things industrial has received a decided shock. President Yoakum of the Rock Island says that there are 400,000 railroad

men in the United States now without employment. This estimate is confirmed by President Shonts of the Colver Leaf, who says that of the 1,675,000 railroad employes who were in active service a year ago fully one-fourth are now idle, at a loss in wages approximating \$1,000,000 for every working day. "A year ago," said Mr. Shonts, "the railroads were spending \$1,250,000,000 for supplies, now they are spending not more than \$500,000,000. This means a falling off in railroad expenditures of three million dollars a day."

Two years ago the railroads were at the flood tide of "prosperity" and employes were enjoying to the full the benefit of their "common interest" with their employers. The hours of labor law, which was then before congress for passage, was strenuously opposed by the railroads on the ground that it was utterly impossible for them to procure the services of the additional men that would be necessary to make the provisions of the law effective, and this argument had such weight with congress that a provision was inserted in the bill giving the railroads a year in which to prepare for the enforcement of the law. With that concession the bill passed.

At the height of this condition of "prosperity" I addressed an article to railroad men, in which I predicted the present slump, "not as a matter of guess, but of arithmetic." I said "it may not come next month or next year, but it will come, and the longer it is coming the longer will be the backward trip. * * * Several hundred thousand of you will be left high and dry; no jobs, but plenty of time to tramp and think." My article was published in the Appeal to Reason and extensively circulated among railroad employes. It created considerable comment, and several of the "grand" officers of the organizations considered it of sufficient importance to warrant them in pointing out to their followers the utter absurdity of my conclusions and how entirely foolish it would be for railroad men to pay any attention to what I had to say. The Railway Conductor, the official organ of the Order of Railway Conductors, which was then under the control of a "grand chief" who has since received the reward which comes to those labor leaders who are properly subservient to the interests of capitalism, was particularly caustic in its criticism; pointing out that Debs was simply a discredited labor leader who had made a failure of everything he undertook, and that it was the part of wisdom for railroad employes to pay no attention to his teachings, and especially to give no weight to his advice to investigate socialism.

Although such arguments (?) from the "grands" and "worthy grands" may have a certain amount of effectiveness in preventing inquiry on the part of their deluded followers during the continuance of "prosperity," they entirely lose force in a time of financial and industrial stress like the present. With more than 400,000 railroad employes out of work a large amount of time is permitted for independent thinking. The economic argument is as potent with railroad employes as it is with other workers, and when they find themselves bereft of their jobs and lacking the means to save their wives from eviction and their children from starvation it is suddenly brought home to them that the reputed brotherhood of capital and labor is a myth.

Especially is this true when, in answer to their pathetic inquiries of the standard bearer of the "prosperity" party as to what they are to do in such times of crisis when out of work and starving, they only receive the despairing reply, "God knows!"

When they ask for bread they receive a stone!

Since publication of the article above referred to many things have happened to open the eyes of railroad employes, and evidence is not wanting to show that socialism is a force that must be reckoned with in railway labor circles from this time forth. It was in 1892 that I resigned my official position in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. The big strike in 1894 followed, and at its conclusion, defeated by the injunctions of Taft, Woods, et al, and the troops of the federal government, rushed to the assistance of the railroad managers by President Cleveland against the protest of the governor of a sovereign state, I was sent to jail and practically deserted by the railroad employes, my former brothers. This is what the present "grands" stigmatize as "failure." A million times more is such "failure" to be preferred than such "success" as the "grands" have attained in leading their deluded followers into the mire of capitalism!

As a result of my "failure" the corporations were all violently opposed to me, and so of course their poor slaves had to desert and denounce me. An extremely few remained true and they had to keep it quiet. The corporations thought I was buried forever, and in the effort to crush out the last spark of independence from their employes they resorted to measures almost inconceivably heartless and inhuman. Men were blacklisted and denied employment at their chosen call-

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ing from one end of the country to the other. They were even in many instances dogged out of other vocations and denied the right to work at the most menial employments. They were forced by hundreds into tramping and outlawry—many into suicide. Their wives and daughters were driven to penury and prostitution, and their tender children into starvation and death. This saturnalia of oppression continued until the tigerish maw of capitalism was fully sated and its agents paused from very weariness, confident in the belief that the spirit of its slaves was fully broken and crushed. Such a stench did this blacklisting evil become in the nostrils of men that even capitalist legislatures were compelled, from very shame, to take cognizance of it. Laws against it were passed in many of the states, and finally, in 1898, the federal government passed a law forbidding railroad corporations engaged in interstate commerce to blacklist their employes or threaten them with loss of employment because of membership in a labor organization. Violation of the law was made a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than one thousand dollars. By this time the activity of the railroads in wreaking vengeance on the former members of the A. R. U. had accomplished its purpose, and complaints concerning blacklisting had become much less numerous, but the law, which also provided for the arbitration of labor disputes between interstate carriers and their employes, was hailed with glad acclaim by the "grands" and their persecuted followers. It was believed that the evil of blacklisting had been virtually scotched and men could once more stand erect and proclaim their manhood and independence. But this reckoning did not take the courts into account. At the very height of this great wave of republican "prosperity," namely, on October 15, 1906, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad company, through its agent, William Adair, discharged a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen because of his union membership, in violation of the federal law. Adair was indicted and convicted in the lower federal court, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. But the case was carried to the supreme court of the United States, which august body, on January 27, 1908, declared that no offense had been committed in the discharge of the employe because of his membership in a labor organization, and that any attempt of the legislature to interfere with an employer's right to discharge his employes at will, with or without reason, or to blacklist them if he sees fit, "is an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land. Thus were railroad employes stripped of every vestige of protection which the law had granted them, by the very party of "prosperity" which, on the strength of the "full dinner pail" argument, they had voted in power in three successive campaigns. And this blow fell on the heels of the demonstrated failure of the "prosper-

ity" regime, at a time when 400,000 railroad employes were looking for work owing to the recurrence of capitalism's periodic breakdown.

Is it any wonder that railroad employes are breaking their leading strings and beginning to think for themselves? Is it any wonder that they remember my prediction of two years ago, and recalling their past experiences, are coming over to socialism by hundreds and thousands? Is it any wonder that they are beginning to say to themselves, "Debs may be a failure as a labor leader, but on this question of socialism he is certainly right?"

The leaders of the dominant parties have sounded a note of alarm at the so-called "apathy" of the voters, and there is reason for their fear. Torchlight processions and unintelligible disquisitions from campaign splinters will no longer answer the insistent questionings of the slowly awakening labor giant. The full dinner pail idol has been crushed to earth through failure of the "party of prosperity" to make good its professions, and the workers are refusing to enthuse over the tariff, the currency, injunctions, our foreign policy, and the many other fake issues which were wont to thrill them into paroxysms of enthusiasm in a former campaign.

All these fake issues dwarf into insignificance before the very practical question of "What are you going to do about the problem of the unemployed?" to which questions the republicans answer only, "God knows!" and the democrats, "We hope for restored confidence as a result of the policies announced in our platform."

The Socialist party is the only one that gives the worker a practical and logical answer to his elemental question. He is flocking by thousands to its standard, and it is my prediction that the idea of November holds in store a surprise for both republicans and democrats that will compel a revision of their political methods, as well as a demonstration that the railroad employes of the United States have at last become conscious of their true position in the scheme of capitalist industrialism, and have resolved upon a master stroke for liberty—International Socialist Review.

Poet's Corner

THE AWAKENING OF THE HUMAN

The human has awakened. Through his physical life there swells the tide of mighty clamoring, cosmic forces.

LOCAL SECRETARIES OF SOCIALIST PARTY IN MONTANA.

- Aldridge—Wm. Ralph. Belfry—Edwin Dew. Belt—C. J. Croft. Belt, Finnish—A. Lampi.

LIST OF STATE COMMITTEEMEN.

- Billings—L. M. Withrow. Great Falls—Geo. McDermott. Missoula—T. D. Caulfield.

A civilization that condemns men, women and children to poverty and starvation alongside of ample resources and powerful tools of production, is a curse and a crime.

Agitate, educate, organize! So long as the workers are in ignorance any crook can come along and lead them astray.

A civilization that breeds better cattle than children is bound to be replaced by something better.

National

Literature in excess of all previous records has been sold or distributed. Eight leaflets in place of six, for sale or distribution, have been secured or printed.

As to the promising campaign now growing to a close you have been fully advised of its general trend, and almost to the limit of detail, plans proposed or approved by you have been carried into effect.

Dear Comrades: The winning of a world for the workers, being the first purpose of our organization any and all other accomplishments are incidental.

The socialist special train has made its own record and proved successful beyond all expectation. Although the highest estimate of cost in June was \$23,000, it will probably cost in the ultimate about \$30,000, yet as an advertising medium it has paid out a hundredfold.

As in the case of the mileage for delegates to the national convention, being over-subscribed, it is gratifying to report that an amount somewhat above the sum required to defray all the expenses of the special train will be realized.

Fifteen thousand farmers scattered through seven states have been sent literature and a personal letter. Trades union secretaries to the number of 7,000 have been directly addressed and given information as to the course of the Socialist party campaign fund.

But as to the organization and its comparative resources and activity: At the beginning of 1904 we had 16,000 dues-paying members at the end of that year after polling more than 40,000 we had 20,000, or an increase of 4,000 members.

During the present year we have held about four meetings to every one held in 1904, and have raised and will spend for all purposes, including campaign expenses, three times as much money as in the preceding presidential campaign.

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

From National Committeeman Axelsson of Oregon:

I most emphatically declare that an organizer in the Socialist party should not only do propaganda work, but should principally organize and re-organize locals and in order that such work should be of lasting benefit to our movement it is not enough to get five or six persons together to sign the pledge and give them a more or less flowery talk on the beauties of socialism and then leave them and that place almost as unorganized and helpless as ever—no, and a thousand times no, this is not enough.

If the work of an organizer shall bear fruit, every signer of the pledge must clearly understand what that pledge means, must understand that the socialist movement is a movement by, for and of the productive workers—wage slaves if you please—for their benefit alone, and that anyone who is not a productive worker has no business to perform on this earth that will benefit the workers, much less be fit to take part in the proceedings of the useful members of society, except such person completely surrender his interests and subordinate himself to the ideas, principles and laws promulgated by the class-conscious and useful workers of this earth.

The next thing to do is to give clear and concise instructions as to parliamentary rules to be observed in holding meetings. A meeting without strict order is a nuisance, and as far as my observation goes, there is room for much improvement even in locals supposed to be models in this respect.

Then instruction is sorely needed as regards the keeping of minutes, of accounts and the making clear, comprehensive reports of committees. An organizer should also watch out to see that every local he visits has the national and state constitution and a local constitution, and should instruct about the importance of understanding and living up to the same—anyone who doesn't understand or care for the laws of the party doesn't understand or care for the welfare of the party.

It is also very essential to instruct the locals and make every member understand the necessity of every local promptly responding to all communications from national and state headquarters, and especially to make clear and complete monthly reports to the state secretary.

Women's Clubs

KATE DEBS—THE WOMAN OF THE HOUR

Mrs. Katharine Debs, wife of the socialist candidate for president, has succeeded to an unusual degree in keeping out of the limelight of publicity. Debs has for years been active in the fight for better conditions, and is the idol of hundreds of thousands of workmen, but Mrs. Debs has always kept in the background. She is a woman of splendid qualities, and has been of great aid to her husband, but she has never sought to share in the glory of his success.

When Debs is out on a campaign tour his "comrade wife" and "chum" acts as his secretary and relieves him of much of the stupendous amount of work always piled upon him. It is Debs' view that where men have unusual success in a revolutionary movement the credit does not belong to them alone.

The Debs home life is ideal. While "Kate" is attending to stacks of correspondence, likely as not "Gene" is preparing supper in the kitchen, and he knows how, and is mighty glad to get away from the routine of official work whenever there is an opportunity. Their home is filled with literary and art treasures, many of them souvenirs from admiring comrades and friends throughout the world, and the refined taste and gentle touch of "Kate" are noticeable in every part of the household.

WOMEN CHAINED IN HOUSE OF COMMONS

Suffragette disturbances have driven the government to the unusual course of temporarily closing the strangers' and ladies' galleries in the house of commons. This was announced by the speaker in response to a question from Premier Asquith and Mr. Balfour, the leader of the opposition as parliament was adjourning the night of October 28.

During the evening, while the house was discussing the licensing bill, a sensation was caused by the display of a placard, and sudden shrill cries from the ladies' gallery, demanding votes for women, while simultaneously a bundle of handbills fluttered down from the strangers' gallery at the opposite end of the chamber and a man shouted protests against "injustice to women."

Attendants hurried to the galleries and the male offender was unceremoniously ejected, but from the ladies' gallery sounds were heard of a desperate struggle. Two suffragettes had firmly chained themselves to the grill and resisted for a time all efforts at removal.

Relieve Unemployed

The scene was watched with amazement from the floor of the house, but the suffragettes were dragged from their positions only after portions of the grill were removed with them.

Ten minutes later there was another bundle of bills down upon the house and shouting: "Why don't you give women votes and relieve the unemployed?"

Carried Boldly Out

Attendants rushed upon him, but he resisted fiercely an attempt to carry him bodily from the gallery. After a desperate struggle the attendants succeeded in ejecting the man. About the same time a large crowd of suffragettes made a demonstration outside the parliament building and 15 were arrested.

Comical Scene

The removal of two militant suffragettes presented a comical scene to those in the corridors. Both of the offenders were laughing heartily when they were escorted by a posse of policemen, one of the officers carrying that portion of the grill to which the women were chained. They were conducted into a committee room and workmen were summoned to file off the iron from the chains, which were securely padlocked around the women's waists.

It was found that the chains had been carefully padded to prevent noise and betray the suffragettes when they entered the ladies' gallery. The demonstration had been planned beforehand with great secrecy. One band was to demonstrate outside the building, and in the lobby of the house and a third in the gallery. The gallery contingent numbered fourteen, but it was attended by many passive sympathizers.

"Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" Let us leave that to the democratic and republican politicians and the corporation lawyers. They know a lot about it. Or, seriously, we may use machines to do most of the dirty work.

International

REVISIONISTS WIN AND LOSE

After Nuremberg, where the German party had a lot of discussion over revisionism, and where the revisionists were defeated, comes the Italian socialist congress at Florence, where the revisionists, after having been badly beaten on the direct question of revision, captured the party executive and the editorship of the Avanti for their nominees.

Knew Better Than Majority

How this came about is not clear to me. It is probable that the revisionists knew what they wanted much better than the majority did.

It will be interesting to see what a body of men, led by perhaps the clearest thinkers in the ranks of the revisionists will be able to accomplish now that they have the Italian party under their control.

The correspondent of the Leipziger-Volkzeitung points out that the revisionists in Italy will be forced to give up their criticisms and show what their practical work is worth as compared to the integralist section, which was last at the rudder.

The resolution passed on the party tactics is one of the longest I ever saw. It begins by congratulating the integralists or center group on having saved the unity of the Socialist party.

Then on the question of syndicalism, or the anarchist trade unions and the party, it condemns the anti-parliamentary theories of the syndicalists as well as their attitude towards the state.

Must Have Socialist Spirit

It declares that the trade unions, to do their work, must be filled with the socialist spirit and that means must be found to maintain a harmonious co-operation between the party and the trade unions.

The general strike is declared to be a dangerous weapon because it distracts the proletariat from the quiet work of organization and piecemeal improvements, but it is recognized that it can at times be effective when accompanied by vigorous parliamentary action, especially in warding off reaction.

The resolution declares that the strike can only be an expedient to be resorted to on special occasions; not one to be looked on as a regular weapon in the class struggle.

The resolution then deals with the question of municipal and government employes, and says that as a strike from the side of such employes implies not merely a cohesion with a group of capitalists, but with society as a whole, the congress expects that employes in such works will only strike when every expedient has been tried and failed.

Protests Against Barren Policy

Then follows a wondrous paragraph which protests against the mere barren policy of so-called negative opposition and explains that it is in no way in contradiction with the socialist program principles (which as far as I know no responsible member of the party has denied) if we endeavor to utilize as far as possible the machinery of municipal or national government to obtain concessions to enable the workers to fight the class struggle more effectively.

All participation in the ministry is condemned and the importance of the class struggle for the workers dwelt upon. A paragraph says that the parliamentary group should have a certain number of workers—a provision which would hardly be necessary in any country except in Italy, where the academic element practically monopolizes the parliamentary representation. In Germany, for example, the number of ex-workers in the parliamentary group is at least half, probably more.

An Elastic Provision

The constituencies are declared to be independent in the matter of supporting such non-socialist candidates for parliament as accept the electoral program of the party provided that this is looked upon as an exceptional case, a very elastic provision.

In the elections candidates are reminded that the entire socialist program must be kept in the foreground and never be overshadowed by palliatives or the electoral program.

Next Legislative Program

For the next legislative period the following program will be taken up consistent with the above:

- Abolition of the corn tax. Progressive taxation. Universal suffrage. Reduction of military service. Refusal of military supplies. Reform, extension and secularization of the common schools.

All important decisions on tactics are to be arrived at after consultation between the trade union leaders, the parliamentary group and the executive of the party.

That is the gist of the resolution which shows every sign of being drawn up so as to make it as comprehensive as possible.

Make Alliances Impossible

The intransigent section, or the revolutionary left, who are not syn-

dicalists, wanted to make all alliances with bourgeois parties or the support of bourgeois candidates at the first ballot impossible as well as any support of a ministry, and voted against the resolution.

The reformists have two fairly formidable tasks to encounter, namely, how to finance the Avanti, and how they are to deal with the question of the so-called autonomous circles at Milan and other places.

The first point, that of the Avanti, has for some time been a difficulty in view of the decreasing circulation of the paper. Some years ago, it may be remembered, the Avanti was in the hands of the revisionists and went from bad to worse till at last the old editorial staff, and Ferri, who was then a revolutionary and the leader of the left section of the party, became editor.

Avanti Loses Circulation

At first, under the new editing, the paper was making great progress, but Ferri, in recent years became more and more an opportunist and the paper more and more lost in clearness of policy and the circulation went down.

The decrease in the circulation of socialist papers generally is considered to arise from the fact that they are no longer felt to be an adequate expression of the needs of the workers.

On the whole the result of the Italian congress at Florence may prove an instructive lesson, not only for the Italian movement, but the entire international movement, as well. The revisionists are on trial at least as far as Italy is concerned.—J. B. Askew in Chicago Socialist.

MORGAN'S ANCIENT SOCIETY

Researches in the lines of human progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization.

This is one of the world's great books. Written by an American thirty years ago, it proves that wealth and poverty are not eternally inevitable, as people used to suppose, but a passing incident in the history of the human race.

Morgan shows beyond a doubt that mankind lived for thousands and thousands of years with common ownership of the land as well as of most of the simple tools with which food and other means of enjoyment were produced.

His work has stood the test of a generation of criticism, and his conclusions are substantially accepted by all the leading scientists of the present day. But for thirty years this great book was kept out of the reach of working people by fixing its price at \$4. Last years, its copyright having expired, we brought out a new edition, cloth bound, 576 handsomely printed pages. We have already sold 2,500 copies and printed a thousand more.

Any stockholder in our publishing house can get this book for 99 cents postpaid. (If you are not a stockholder let us tell you how easy it is to get a share and what it will do for you.) But any one, whether stockholder or not, can for \$1.50 get "Ancient Society" postpaid and a year's subscription to the International Socialist Review.

The Review has been enlarged to 80 pages monthly. It is running in addition to its scientific matter the liveliest sort of a live serial story by Mary E. Marcy, entitled, "Out of the Dump," and it is the one periodical that a working socialist who wishes to talk and write intelligently can not afford to be without.

Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 153 Kinzie St., Chicago.

To the Editor of the Montana News.

Dear Comrade: I read with great interest and appreciation your article, "Women's Organizations," in the September number of The Socialist Woman. The need of carrying out your plan is very great. For us women to get interested is the first step but to organize us for educational purposes is necessary for us to become class-conscious socialists. When we women become interested right away, we long to learn. For that and other reasons I second your plan to organize a club or class, so that women who for various reasons object to joining locals may learn the A B C's of socialism, an organization, club, or class, where we would meet and feel at ease, and not feel ashamed or backward on account of our lack of education. What we need right now is an organizer to organize such clubs where they are needed.

ANNIE K. GRUND Iverson, Ore., Oct. 20, 1908.

From Comrad Bjorneby of Kallispell: "Comrade Burgess held a very good street meeting here last Saturday evening, and there was quite a large crowd out to hear him, and it seemed as if everybody was in sympathy with what he said, except a couple of old party men that were under the influence of republican campaign 'booze,' but those are the only people that seem to disagree with the socialist argument, and we will have to excuse them. We expect to poll quite a socialist vote here in the county, but it is impossible to make any estimate as to the number of votes as yet."

CANADIAN PACIFIC STRIKE LOST.

The great strike on the Canadian Pacific is over. The men have surrendered unconditionally and are returning to work as individuals. The open shop principle has prevailed and in the future the corporation can discriminate against organized labor as much as it chooses. Here is another instance in which the injunction was unheard of and yet the unions lost the fight. They lost because hundreds of unemployed workers on the ragged edge of starvation took the strikers' places. Practically the same cause has operated in all other strikes that have been lost—enough hungry, unemployed workers were found to step into the places made vacant by the union men. The average onlooker would naturally think that the great labor leaders would establish their claims to the right of leadership by formulating plans to capture the source of supply of the capitalists—that is, abolish the unemployed army upon which capitalism depends to fill the jobs of the strikers and thus starve the latter into submission. But no! The great labor leaders do not concern themselves with fundamentals. They not only refuse to go to the root of the problem, but, while everlastingly dabbling with effects rather than causes, they actually ridicule and denounce those of the common herd who tire of the apparently endless farce and do make an attempt to study out the cause of defeat and its accompanying sufferings and apply the proper remedy. The reason there is an unemployed army is found in the self-evident fact that there are not enough jobs to supply the demand for work, and there are not sufficient jobs because capitalism has monopolized the land and machinery with which we must work. Up to this writing the great political leaders, Messrs. Taft and Bryan, and their labor lieutenants have not propounded even a small hint as to how this monopoly of jobs—that is, land and machinery of production and distribution—is to be taken from the privileged few and restored to the whole people, who have been robbed of this power. No; the fat-headed politicians and their great labor leaders (who are acting the role of decoy ducks) skip all around the real vital question and mumble something about tariffs, guaranteeing bank deposits, publishing lists of campaign contributors or whether injunctions shall issue to restrain workmen while engaged in the pleasant occupation of pitting their empty stomachs against the money bags in strikes. Will the rank and file ever wake up and force their alleged leaders to do business in the right way or get out? How many more years are to be wasted in espousing fool politics that lead nowhere? How many more costly object lessons must be administered to the workers? How much more suffering must be undergone by innocent women and children before egotistical leaders lead?—Cleveland Citizen.

HARRACK AT GREAT FALLS.

Two prominent citizens of the bourgeoisie of Great Falls gave the first orations on Labor day, and the substance of the speeches was congratulations to this city for having so far escaped the sufferings and distress to which other mining and smelting cities have been subjected on account of strikes; and thanks were given to the labor leaders for using tact and wisdom on their side, and praise to the magnanimity of the Amalgamated management on the other. The last two speakers, however, were less tactful (?) One, a preacher, commenced to bring in politics, regretting the conditions that prevail in our glorious land, and stating that he hoped a system of government would sometime be established that would bear out the teachings of the golden rule.

The next speaker was a socialist—Comrade Harrack of Chicago. He made things still worse from the "prominent citizens" point of view. He drew a comparison between the black chattel slave of the south and the wage slave of today, and by clever illustrations he pointed out the many advantages the chattel slave has had over the wage earner; the master's concern over the health and well-being of his slave whether there was work for him or not.

Now that was evidently too much information for the working people as considered from the standpoint of the "powers that be," and so the Leader (republican), as the faithful mouth-piece of the G. O. P., bristled with indignation in its following issue concerning the impropriety of the topics of the last two speakers at a Labor day celebration. And this in its turn led to still more thinking among non-socialists, who concluded that there are some other problems to solve besides hanging onto a job for dear life.

MARGARET PALSGROVE. "Divine Right" Baer is going to stomp the coal regions for Bryan, it is said. Baer and Bryan represent the same ideas.

Have the delinquencies of this campaign taught you how to begin to work better for the next one?

State Department

NOTICE!

To the Members of the Socialist Party.
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To subscribers:—Notice the date on address label of your paper and renew before expiration, as all subscriptions will be cancelled on date of expiration.

SPECIAL NOTICE!

A great many of our subscribers are working people, who go about from place to place, not staying any great length of time at one point. We would deem it an especial favor if all such subscribers when leaving a place would drop us a postal card, giving their new address, thereby ensuring their getting the paper for the time paid for. If this is not done the postmaster notifies this office that the paper is not called for and the name is taken off the mailing list.
A great many people are in the habit of subscribing for the News and having it sent to some friend. In such cases the person to whom the paper is sent should be notified that it is paid for, otherwise it is left in the postoffice and eventually ordered discontinued.

R. F. White of Winston, Montana, sends in two subs.

J. F. Mable sends in two subs from Bridger, and five from Trail Creek.

Robert Scott of Butte sends in \$10 for the bundle of News going to the Butte Workingmen's union.

Havre local sends in \$20.75 for the News, the proceeds of a dance and from other sources.

Socialists should be able to send in all the reports from their precincts by next week. Give as full returns as possible.

Comrade Chuning reports well of Paul Castle's speech in Missoula on "Why We Want Socialism". Good crowd. Collection \$4.20; literature \$1.25.

We must reiterate that if you wish to assist paying the party debts on the News the money must be sent directly to the News. All business communications must be sent directly to the News. Any communications whatever for the editorial department must be sent directly to the editor.

The following letter shows the fear of the capitalist papers to expose the creations of capitalism. The matter came just as we were going to press so that we could not give the matter the treatment that it deserved:
Editor of the Montana News.

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find a resolution which the Anaconda Standard and the Butte Miner refused to publish. They had an awful time excusing themselves and finally the Standard agreed to publish it at regular advertising rates. See how they will sacrifice their principles for money? If the money doesn't come through they are quite loyal to their party ticket.

Locals are reminded that they must learn to do their business in a business way if they wish it attended to. The state convention separated the business of the News from that of the Socialist party work. The Montana News is conducting its business by itself independent entirely of the state office. If your business is with the News address your letter to the News. If your business is with the state secretary address your letter in that way. If your business is with the mechanical part of the News, the printing department address your letter to the manager. If it has to do with the editorial work, that is, everything that is in the paper except the advertisements, address your letter to the editor, as she is the only one who has anything whatever to do with the subject matter of the paper. A little consideration as to the contents of your letter will prevent confusion in attending to your business.

MINUTES OF STATE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Butte, Mont., Oct. 13, 1908.
To the Locals and Members of the Socialist Party of Montana.

Greeting Comrades:
Your State Committee convened at Helena on the afternoon of September 28. There were present during the sessions the following members:
L. M. Withrow, of Billings local; J. Duncan, of Butte local; J. E. B. of Clancy local; Hiram Platt, of local; Mrs. Wells, of Fridley local; W. McDermott, of Great Falls local; W. E. Ryan, of Havre local; Joseph Bauer, of Helena local; Paul Castle, of Hamilton local; A. T. Harvey, of Lewistown local; A. D. Peugh, of Livingston local; John Peters, of Red Lodge local; T. D. Caulfield, of Missoula local.

Comrade L. J. Duncan was elected chairman and Comrade A. T. Harvey secretary of the committee, and subsequently they were made permanent officers of the committee.

The first matter of business was the editing of the draft for constitution, acted upon by the state convention, so as to have it in proper condition for referendum. The only noteworthy changes, aside from verbal corrections, were, first, the addition of a provision for the election of a state secretary, which the convention had neglected, and second, to provide for monthly reports from locals to the state secretary. The labor union clause, adopted by the convention, was allowed to stand in the constitution so that it might be submitted to the locals; but it was the general opinion of the committee that, while truly representative of the sympathy of the party in the field of industry.

In order that a choice may be had when the referendum on constitution is submitted, a sub-committee to draft an optional constitution was appointed. The members of this sub-committee were Duncan, McDermott and Harvey. They drafted another which was subsequently passed upon by the whole committee, and this will soon be submitted in referendum, along with the one formulated by the convention.

Another sub-committee to draw up resolutions expressive of the party's attitude to organized labor was appointed. This committee consisted of Comrades Withrow and Peugh and State Secretary Graham.

In the second day's session it was decided by vote of the committee that all propaganda literature issued by comrades or locals in this state must first be submitted to and approved by the state cabinet. Also a sub-committee, consisting of Comrades Peters, Castle and Butler, with Comrade Hazlett as advisory member, was appointed to select literature for use in the present campaign.

Comrades Duncan, of the auditing committee, made a partial report of the work of said committee, and the committee was granted further time to complete its work. The report touched only matters connected with the state cabinet. It showed that while the bookkeeping has been poorly done in the past two years, there is no evidence whatsoever of attempt to defraud. On the contrary, the books show that the secretary-treasurer has paid out for the party more money—in the neighborhood of \$125—than has been accounted for as paid into the party. The committee considers it doubtful if a perfectly true balance can be struck. The books of the Montana News had not yet been checked up, owing to the lack of time. The committee voted that the future policy should be to have an auditor check up the books every month hereafter, report monthly to the cabinet and through the cabinet to the state committee. Duncan was elected as such auditor.

Comrades McDermott, Harvey and Peugh were elected a sub-committee to raise, as soon as possible, the sum of \$500 for expenses of the present campaign.

Comrades Bauer and Castle were appointed a sub-committee to make an inventory of the Montana News plant. This will be presented later in a report of the finance committee.

The committee then proceeded to elect the state cabinet (or executive committee, as it is called in the optional constitution to be submitted) and the ballot resulted in the choice of L. J. Duncan of Butte, J. M. Kruse of Bozeman and T. D. Caulfield of Missoula.

At the evening session of the second day and continuing through most of the day sessions of the third day, the committee was occupied in the investigation of the charges preferred against James D. Graham by Charles J. Tipton, acting manager of the Montana News. As the charges have been printed and generally circulated among the locals and have thus become familiar to the members generally, they are not set forth in detail here. In general they allege incompetency, mismanagement, on the part of Graham as former manager of the Montana News and as state secretary. Both accuser and accused were present, and the fullest latitude was given Comrade Tipton to make and sustain his charges. The committee then began to take up each charge specifically and to sift it thoroughly before passing to another. Comrade Graham was also given opportunity to present his own explanation of the charges and to

cross-examine Tipton and Tipton's witnesses as to facts, but he was not allowed to question them as to motives of a personal nature which might or might not exist back of the charges. By the afternoon session of the third day it was becoming evident to a majority of the committee that nothing of a very serious nature was being proven against comrade Graham, and that to prolong the investigation further would be waste of time. That the affairs of the state office and the News have necessarily been unbusinesslike times; that mistakes have been made; that lack of funds has been a constant source of embarrassment to the management, necessitated heroic measures at times and provoked misunderstanding and some personal feeling is unquestionable true. Comrades Graham, Hazlett and Tipton have each made sacrifices to keep the paper going, sacrifices they ought not to have been required by the party to make. While the investigation was going on there was some show of heat and personal animosity on the whole, but it was conducted with a view to arriving at the exact facts and to doing justice to all. The committee was satisfied, before all of the minor details of the charges were taken up, and the investigation was completed by the unanimous adoption of the following:

"We, the state committee of the Socialist party of Montana, find that the charges against State Secretary Graham, in so far as they relate to loose methods in the business management of the office in the management of the Montana News and state secretary are sustained. But we consider that it could not have been otherwise under the circumstances. There are no specific charges against his honesty or integrity, and the committee exonerates him from all shadow of guilt."

Taking up next the referendum on election of state secretary called for by the state convention at its last session, it was moved by Withrow of Billings and seconded by another member, that inasmuch as said referendum was not taken according to the provisions of the constitution, it be declared illegal. This motion prevailed; only Comrades Harvey and Duncan voting in the affirmative.

The state committee then proceeded to the election of a state secretary. Comrades Withrow of Billings, Graham of Livingston, McDowell of Billings and McDermott of Great Falls were nominated. The ballots were had, and on the second George G. McDowell of Billings was elected by a vote of 9 to 4.

Comrade Harrack, late of Chicago and now touring this state on business and making speeches for the party, was nominated and elected manager of the Montana News.

The chairman and secretary of the committee were authorized by vote of the committee to draw up a statement of the proceedings of this session, which should include a vote of censure upon Helena local for its officiousness and presumption in sending out letters designed to create a prejudice in the matter of the state secretaryship and in issuing a call for a meeting of the state committee, and also include the finding of the committee in the investigation of the charges against Comrade Graham; and that a copy of this statement be sent by said chairman and secretary to every local in the state, with the request that it be spread on the minutes of the local.

In the closing session of the committee, on the evening of September 30, it was moved that the state headquarters and the plant of the Montana News be removed to Butte at the earliest practicable date. After discussion this action was left to the decision of the party by referendum after the election.

The state cabinet was instructed to pay Comrade Hazlett an account for the Naegle Printing company and the employees of the Montana News the amounts due and owing them at the earliest possible moment. These amounts, at that time, were as follows:

Comrade Mrs. Hazlett.....	\$260.00
Wages News employees.....	268.50
Naegle Printing Co.....	224.00
Total.....	\$752.50

The bill of the Naegle Printing company is an old account for the Montana News which the party ought not to permit to run longer. The amount due Mrs. Hazlett is for \$150 of her own money, which she put into the News when she became the editor, and \$100 which the convention voted to her at the last session, but which she immediately paid out to the employees of the News for wages. Comrade Hazlett has made other financial sacrifices for the News and to help out the state office, from time to time, of which neither she nor anyone else has kept account. This should not be, and the party should feel the burden of a debt of honor to repay her, at least, the two items above mentioned. That the wages of the employees of the News ought to be paid without delay, sincerely hopes and strongly urges the comrades in the locals to make special efforts by special assessments, or donations, to put into the hands of the cabinet funds sufficient to cancel these debts of honor speedily.

There is also a debt of \$225 to Comrade Graham which ought, with equal speed and conscientiousness, to be paid. It is for money he raised more than eight months ago, by mortgaging his home in Livingston in order to save the Montana News at a critical time.

These debts are matters of which the party has not, till now, had general knowledge. And for this reason the membership is not altogether blame-worthy for the past neglect of them. But now that our attention is called directly to them and their nature explained, it will be base in us not to strain every energy and make the necessary sacrifices in order that we may no longer be guilty of withholding from these faithful servants the money they could ill spare, but which they have advanced in order to save our property and to maintain our paper and our credit. Before the committee adjourned several personal pledges were made by some of the members, aggregating about \$200. This is only a start. Let the members individually and collectively throughout the state give generously to this end. Contributions may be sent to Comrade G. W. McDermott, P. O. box 812, Great Falls, or to the secretary, or chairman of the state committee, who will see that the money is properly applied.

The foregoing is practically all the business transacted by the committee. We have omitted the least essential matters but have given the important ones as fully as we can in this condensed form. In conclusion we beg to assure the comrades everywhere that despite differences of opinion there was no disharmony or bitterness between the members of the state committee. Whatever was done was conceived in the interest of the party as a whole. If we have erred, it is in the right and the duty of the locals to correct us and to submit our actions to the judgment of the party as a whole. It is our belief that this meeting marks the beginning of a new era in the history of socialism in this state; that the party has started out in a practical way to accomplish definite results; to come into line with the most progressive type of socialist activity; to develop party solidarity and practical methods; to insure steady growth in power and ef-

icient work, and in the course of a very few years, make Montana one of the banner states for our noble cause—the abolition of wage-slavery and the institution of the co-operative commonwealth.

For the state committee,
LEWIS J. DUNCAN,
Chairman.
ARTHUR T. HARVEY,
Secretary.

Glendive, Mont., Nov. 2.

Having been appointed literary agent and state committeeman from Glendive local to succeed Stephen Taylor, resigned, I think it to the interest of my office as well as to the Socialist party that I see that all of the comrades are subscribers to the Montana News. I therefore ask that you send subscription blanks and if at any time you come across any literature that will stir up some enthusiasm to help push the local kindly send it to me and I will push the cause here
CLAUDE T. EVANS.

Had a splendid meeting here last night, better than the last. School house jammed and not a one left during a two hours' talk.

Night before last we were at Fromberg. The democratic county candidates were there the same night and it had been agreed between the chairman of the democratic and socialist county committees that the time should be divided. Of course when the day came the democrats sparred for every advantage. At first they wanted me to speak last, but would not agree on any time they would be through. They could tire the crowd out so that they would leave or demand the dance which was to follow. So the best we could do was for me to have the hall until 9 o'clock. I believe the intention was to hold the crowd out on the street with the band till I was through, but it happened that eight of the band boys are socialists, so we got them to get over to the hall at eight o'clock and we got started at ten minutes past. Of course they followed with the same old dope. Said we have no definite policy and absolutely ignored the vital issues that I had challenged them to answer. I would have liked to have ten minutes at the close, but could not get it. It's strange how those lawyers with years of training and experience in political debate are afraid to take an even break.
J. F. MABIE.

LOCAL HELENA ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS.
Whereas, the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Montana at its meeting Sept. 28 passed a resolution of censure against Local Helena because of the attempt it made to bring to the attention of the party the condition of affairs existing in the Montana News office, and ordered that said censure be spread on the books of every local secretary, and

Whereas, Local Helena protests most vigorously and indignantly at such unjust and unmerited action, and asserts that it took the initiative in the matter of demanding a thorough investigation of all affairs in which the party was concerned, including the delinquencies in the state office, as a response to duty that every Socialist owes to the working class movement, in order to maintain its efficiency and democratic management; therefore be it

Resolved, that Local Helena condemns this arbitrary action of the State Committee as an unwarranted and undeserved reflection upon every member in the local, some of whom have endured the most bitter sacrifices for the News, and manifested a loyalty to the workingclass movement surpassed by none; and be it further

Resolved, that Local Helena hereby demands a referendum vote on the action of the State Committee, and a full investigation by every local in the state of the true facts in the case of the situation here at headquarters.

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LOCAL HELENA, of the Socialist Party

Meets every Thursday evening at Montana News Office JOHN TAYLOR, Sec'y.

LOCAL LIVINGSTON, of the Socialist Party

Meets every second and fourth Monday evening in Trades & Labor Hall, opp. Opera House. All transient comrade invited to attend.

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