

SOCIALISM VILE AND UNSPEAKABLE

Says Bishop Carroll at Missoula—In Tissue of Discredited Statements and Exploded Misconceptions Catholic Priest Assails Party in Montana and Free Speech Fight in Spokane

SYSTEMATIZED INDUSTRY BITTERLY ATTACKED Spokesman of the Church Misstates History, Opposes Scientific Reorganization of Society and Denounces Independence of Labor

It is the history of the Catholic Church and all forms of religious domination, that, whenever a great movement of social dissatisfaction has made its appearance and threatens to overwhelm with destruction the powers and institutions that have oppressed and reduced to misery the masses, these claimants to almighty sanctity and universal wisdom have hurled their prestige and their rank against the popular determination to rid itself of injustice, oppression, ignorance and poverty.

True to this historic mission in the interest of those who rule and make princely profits off of those who rule not, the catholic church in America is following the unesuccessful tactics of its prototype in Europe, and through its unscrupulous and untruthful delegates is singling out the socialist movement, doctrine, party and adherents for most unwarranted and unjustifiable attacks.

Bishop Carroll the Aggressor.

Bishop Carroll is extracting fame and fortune for himself in the northwest, from those who wish to go on acquiring riches through the crushing and cheating and herding of workmen, and hate socialism because it threatens to tumble their graft down about their heads in universal wreck, by attacking socialism with all the weight of his flowing robes and pontifical officialdom. "Carthago delenda est", has been changed by him to "Socialista defenda est"; Socialism must be destroyed, no matter how or when.

This has at all times been conspicuous in the utterances of the reverend gentleman, but renewed venom has been injected into the attacks, by the increasing restlessness in labor ranks, the persistent and noticeable activities of the socialists, and, perhaps most specifically, the recent tremendous effort that is being made by the Industrial Workers of the World to maintain our guaranteed, constitutional rights as a nation to absolute and unrestricted Free Speech; and on Dec. 12 the bishop delivered an address at Missoula which for pure viciousness of attack, unsupported assertion, and deliberate and ignorant misrepresentation has seldom been equalled by the

desperate defenders of the mammon of unrighteousness.

Deliberate Misrepresentation.

There is no attempt to admit, what every fair opponent of a system of thought is accustomed to concede; even the statements, definitions and tenets of socialism, as expressed by its greatest thinkers, its authoritative works, and as they are taught in every university in the world. The address is simply a vituperative harangue, inspired by hate, passion and injustice, that can only disgust well-posted and studious people, and can find credence only with the extremely ignorant, or those upon whom the glitter of an expression from a pulpit has a dazzling and confusing influence. And we may add that such methods as Bishop Carroll is using are an insult to the working class. He insults their intelligence, holds the whip of ecclesiasticism over them; says in substance "misery, poverty, suffering or death, you shall not have socialism. You may starve, but you shall not have socialism. You may tramp the pitiless street in swarms, but you shall not have socialism."

The opponents of socialism spread the pronouncements of the bishop far and wide, both before and after the sermon. The socialist party has no attack as such upon any special personal religious tenets. Jew, gentile, mohammedan, spiritualist, catholic, christian scientist, methodist, baptist, holy rollers, Bob-Sundayites, all in the eyes of socialism, have the same physical needs, the same right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. And it is these priceless treasures of existence, of which socialism seeks to solve the problem.

So it is in defence of our holy creed—holy if life and happiness and human love are holy—that we repel the malignant assaults of the bishop, not because he comes clothed in the robes of any special phase of supernatural beliefs.

Sweeping Abnegation.

"Denouncing socialism and socialist teachers, and declaring that every basis principle of the creed was atheistic and anarchistic, and opposed to the teachings of Christ and the church",—this is the way the "Daily

Missoulian" characterizes the bishop's address.

The very first sentence is a deliberate historical falsehood, and no one knows it better than the bishop. For in America at least the priests have not been chosen for their lack of academic training. Reverend Carroll states that the socialists started the French revolution and inaugurated the "Reign of Terror", with all its consequent horrors. As every high-school boy knows to-day, it was the rising capitalist trading class, the forerunners of the modern bourgeoisie, in revolt against the kings and parasite aristocracy, and determined to obliterate the feudal monarchy, and establish a modern republic, the kind which modern capitalism likes, that caused the French Revolution. Modern scientific socialism was not yet formulated. What collective ideas were generating in the minds of thinkers had no program. It was the capitalist class, and the individualism which capitalism fosters that ran riot in the demand for freedom of every sort, freedom from religious dogmas, free love. The poor and the workers, those who really would profit by the establishment of collective opportunity did not conduct the program of the French Revolution in the least. Here, as has been customary, the deluded workers followed the lead of those who were organizing new methods of rule over them.

When the Revolution had been made successful the bourgeoisie in their turn became conservative, abandoned their ideas of freedom, went back to the oldtime Lares and Penates and proceeded to exploit the worker under a new system.

Beginning of American Socialism.

The bishop states that the first socialists in this country were some German immigrants after the civil war.

Again the catholic father is in error. A widespread and heavy socialistic agitation sprang up in this country between the 30's and 40's. Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune

expounded its propagande. Margaret Fuller, Emerson, Dana, Ripley, Hawthorne, Brisbane, the lights of American literary thought, were its sponsors establishing many collective communities, the most noted of which was Brook Farm. "Oh," our bishop would say, "wt do not mean that kind." Socialism is a product of historical evolution. Whatever unrest of the people has gone before, has made the socialism that is now and will be. So the bishop will be obliged to take social movements as they are, and not as he would like them to be.

Vile violent Language.

The catholic excoriator speaks of socialism and the socialist party, a political organization recognized and placed on the political ballots by the government, the same as any other party, as this "vile and unspeakable teaching". This is rather hard on his government for which he professes sentiments of patriotism. It is surely "going some" as the irreverent style it, when a sectarian preacher calls an opinion on social industry, which is given from three months to a two years' course in the department of economics in every university in the world of established standing, a "vile and unspeakable doctrine". Vituperation and coarse abuse have never yet won adherents to any antagonist.

A little taffy is thrown in here to the workers. They are told that "after they dropped the teachings of socialism they rose to their true position, that of men who are proud of their labor and who delight in their power and might".

We might give as an example of these workmen delighting in their power and might, the four hundred burned to death in the Cherry mine while the company was saving its coal, the strikers trampled under foot and shot down by the constabulary at McKees Rocks while they were demanding decent conditions for human living.

In view of the court decisions against labor, military forces used on strikers, the army of deputies, detec-

FERRER, THE MARTYR, SLANDERED IN GRAVE Spanish Scholar and Beloved Teacher, Revered by Progressive World Blackened by Hatred and Murderers Upheld by Power of Church

tives and thugs used whenever labor makes demands, we must look on the father as something of an incipient joker when he talks of the "power and might of labor".

Socialist Writers Vile Too.

The socialist pamphlets and press are designated as vile. He lists the number of socialist periodicals printed in the United States with unctious—the figures are not correct, but a little thing like that don't count—and says they contain teachings of which you and I—he takes the audience into his confidence—would not speak.

This is rather a severe and sweeping assertion to be made of the scholarly men, the university graduates, the cultured women, the devoted mothers, the teachers, professors, physicians, clergymen from all churches, even including the catholic, who are writing the body of matter enclosed in the socialist press to-day. Men and women a thousand times more cultivated and better educated than this bishop. What shall we say of a man who so wantonly perverts the truth in order that his peculiar views of social organization may prevail?

When Carroll says the socialists are discussing things which he and his friends would not speak of, he touches on just the joint of difference between science, which the socialists teach, and bigotry, which is afraid to examine and investigate nature around them, and abide by nature's knowledge, and laws and truth. Bishop Carroll believes in a God. He probably also believes that God made the universe. Then certainly the bishop would not be ashamed of the universe that his God has made, or anything in it, or any inquiry to see if we could live better if we lived nearer to nature. He who considers the works of nature too vile to be talked about, does so only from the vileness of his own heart.

I believe we have Bible doctrine for this, when the Lord reproved Peter for considering anything in his world vile or unclean. It would be well for the bishop to profit by this teaching.

"Anarchistic" Socialism.

Again the bishop comes over that ancient, putrid and weary lie that socialism is anarchy. A statement of

this sort does more to show the lack of honesty in his dissertation than his violent terms and attacks on the science of industry. For a person might be laboring under the misconception of a certain subject, and hate it cordially and believe all evil of it from not understanding what it meant, but no man of the bishop's attainments could possibly hold such stupid and ignorant ideas as that anarchy and socialism are the same. Even the dictionary is at his side to tell him better. He is moreover familiar with the classical languages, Latin and Greek, from which the words "socialism" and "anarchy" come. He knows the root meanings of the word, and he knows that their meaning is directly the opposite, socialism standing for collectivism and anarchy for individualism. There is no need to waste further time on such flimsy and shallow argument as this.

Berates I. W. W. Union.

Father Carroll evidently has a choice in unions. In other words he thinks some unions are good unions, and other unions are bad unions; and so competent is he on unionism that he thinks the I. W. W. unions "utterly worthless". This he says is because they are saturated with socialist doctrines. We wonder if he would talk this way in Sweden, where the union folk are all socialists, or in Belgium, or in Germany, where they are the same, or in France where the union and socialist power drove his priests and nuns from the country for violating the laws of the government.

Instead of the principles of the I. W. W. being opposed to Christ, as he says, they alone are erecting hospitals and soup-houses for homeless and moneyless workmen. Is the catholic church doing this? Let those suffering workmen answer who know what the prices are in catholic hospitals. And yet Christ expressly commanded that this should be done that all should be sold and given to the poor, that the hungry be fed. His teachings are full of such commands. In the church the stream of money flows the other way. We submit to the hungry and desolate working class, which is the more like Christ

(Continued on Page 2.)

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and have two hundred slaves, whom you did not have to feed, cloth or pay wages to, till the soil and you retain the crops? For further particulars read next week's Montana News.

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Socialism Vile
and Unspeakable

(Continued from Page 1.)

in this instance, the I. W. W. or the saintly church people? "I was a stranger and ye took me not in; I was ahungred and ye fed me not."

Likes Social Reform.

The bishop takes pains to specify that he favors social reform, but he explains minutely that this is not socialism. We are sorry to contradict him, but must say that it is. Morris Hilquit of New York, one of the best posted men in America on socialism, in his latest book states distinctly that socialism comprises reform. Just keep on reforming social abuses long enough and hard enough and you will get to socialism.

But the bishop does not leave us in doubt at to what he means. He says distinctly that atheistic doctrine is what he means by socialism. This is a good one, old as the power of making people believe something whether they want to or not. But it certainly is time that it should be impossible for any to stand on any platform and make the ridiculous assertion that atheism is socialism. Atheism is widespread among all classes, beliefs, and politics of people. Why, then make its presence a special crime of socialism. There are more atheists, two to one, among the republicans and democrats than among the socialists. Atheism pertains to a belief or disbelief in religious forms. Socialism pertains wholly to methods of conducting the industries so that the worker shall have what he produces, and not waste his time supporting a lot of lazy parasites, who go around telling other people what to do and think.

This bluff is too palpable on the part of the bishop. He wants to befool the real issue. Let him and his class of non-producers take their burden off the workers, and the workers will not worry over what the church folk believe.

Socialism is Industrial Freedom. That is all. And the socialists mean to work in every possible way to attain this end. And their number is growing and they are increasing in the land, and this is what is hurting the bishop.

Always Against Reform.

For, contrary to the bishop, the catholic church has opposed reform throughout the ages. It opposed the reform of its own dreadful abuses, but the Reformation went on just the same in spite of its Duke Alvas, its Inquisition, its murder, torture and bloodthirstiness.

It opposed the march of science, burned Bruno at the stake and tortured Galileo for discovering that the earth went around the sun. But it goes round for all that.

Time after time the church has had to recede from its absurd and ignorant positions. When it sees it is beaten it yields like any other minority and goes on to a new position.

The writer had a recent experience in this line. Happening to be at dinner in a hotel in Michigan, North Dakota, with Father Macdonald. I asked a question I had long been wanting to ask some intelligent catholic, and that was what the church did when it found out some position it had previously held, was absolutely erroneous. He said, "Acknowledge it, of course, like any other mistake."

That pretty nearly looks to me like

knocking out the doctrine of the infallibility of the popes. They have said that the earth did not go round the sun, and all sorts of other things that no one disputes any more.

And that is what the church will do with socialism. It sees it growing. It is frantic. It opposes it as bitterly as it has all the new thought of the past. But socialism is on its way triumphant, and the church will take its medicine here as it has always done.

Christianity Must Be Socialist.

The bishop says, "No man can be a Christian and a socialist at the same time."

The socialist says, "No one can be a Christian without being a socialist"; for only through the equal ownership of the means of life can justice and opportunity and a chance be given to all to develop the nobler traits of character that Christianity inculcates.

Socialism is based on universal justice. He who opposes it cannot be a Christian.

Slanders Martyr to Truth.

The greatest outrage in this discourse is the slanderous attack on the noble martyr Ferrer, for whose official murder Spain was forced to change its government. His slanders on this martyr to progress and culture are atrocious; all the old lies to blacken his memory; the attacks even on his private life which his daughter's loyalty has refuted, making him responsible for the Barcelona riots, when the world knows it was the greed of the exiled priests, and the forcing of military service on the workers that caused these riots; oppressive and brutal government, and not the quiet scholar.

All this vituperation and slander, and not one word of the heroic work he did to establish schools of science and sense in that dark land. Does the bishop think to gain friends for his cause by such unjust, such diabolical assassination of a heroic character? One correspondent writes that even the catholics condemn him in the strongest terms.

But Ferrer's name and his grand work will live on when the bishop Carroll and his other traducers are forgotten in the lumber of a dead and error-stricken past.

Which Way, Worker?

A frantic clergy seeking to retain its ancient prestige, exploded beliefs, and positions opposed to science and truth, to oppose the march of progress, and a new and better order; or an intelligent uplift of the worker that he may rebuild the society in which he finds himself, and by his work attain the means for the noblest development of which the human kind is capable

Worker, arise, and think; which way is thine?

the same methods as others having

The Great American Problem.

by J. W. Kohl.

(Appeared in the Carbon County News of April 23, 1909.)

The great American problem is to induce the unemployed of the cities to get out into those sections of the country where there is employment at remunerative wages for all who wish to work. There would be no army of unemployed in this country if labor would be distributed where it is most needed. But to say it to many of the idlers of the great cities is to insult them.

There are thousands of men in Chicago, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburg who would rather freeze and half starve in town than live in simple plenty in the country. They look upon farm work almost with hatred, not because it is hard work, but because they cannot live out of town and enjoy—if it can be called enjoyment—the coarse pleasure of the saloon, the "growler", the five-cent theaters, and the public resorts. They are mentally diseased; they crave urban excitement; they are unfortunate and subjects for pity.

An Answer to Mr. Kohl's, "Great American Problem."

By Edwin S. Dew.

In answer to an editorial that appeared in the Carbon County News of April 23, 1909, I would like to say the following:

You say, "The great American pro-

blem is to induce the unemployed of the cities to get out into those sections where there is employment." Well, will you please tell us where there is employment for two or three million men, who are at present idle in the great cities of Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg? You will say that they should get out into the country, and work on a farm, the farmers are looking for men. Yes, we know the farmers are looking for men but they want some one that can work on the farm and not in a coal mine or factory. If you know anything about farming and mining or manufacturing, you know the nature of the work of the three industries is not very closely related.

If the miners would go out into the country (and they do) and offer to work for the farmers at half regular wages, the farmers would not hire them for the simple reason that they could not stand it to work in the hot sun all day after they had been used to working underground in the mine or in the factory. The farmer will not hire him because he cannot use him to a good advantage. What other kind of work would you suggest for a man to do in the country?

The next thing, you say, is that these men would get remunerative wages in these (unknown) parts where there is plenty of work. Let us see. What do you term remunerative wages? I hold that there is a difference between remunerative wages and living wages. A man and his family can, by skimping and saving, live on four hundred and eighty dollars per year. That is what might be termed living wages, but this is far from being remunerative wages. Forty dollars per month is more than average wages for the farm and in a good many places wages are not half as much. We will say, eighty dollars per year. He cannot live for less than that, so what has he to save to get a start for the next year? You will probably say the farmer should pay more wages to his help. Can he afford to do it, is the next question. I say he cannot and I believe every farmer will bear me out. If the farmer pays more than forty dollars per month he will go in debt himself.

By the time the farmer pays all his expenses and counts his and his family's time, he will not have much more than four hundred and eighty dollars left for his year's work. If you will go into any community which has been settled for a number of years and point out one man or a dozen men who are getting rich, I will guarantee that those very same men are holding mortgages on some other man's property and it is the interest that they are getting rich from, not their farms.

Seventy-nine percent of the people of this country do not own their own homes. They are either rented or the banker holds a mortgage on them for their full value. What prosperity and "simple plenty" the farmers do have! I should think they would tear their throats singing "Home, Sweet Home", and "What a Sweet Home I haven't Got", while the landlords, trusts, and railroads robbed them coming and going.

Probably they are not "managing right". Let's see how they do manage. They only work sixteen hours per day, live on potatoes and jack-rabbits, and skimp on clothes and furniture and after all of this ill managing, if it doesn't happen to be a good year for crops, he is apt to go behind and fall to the mercy of the landlord, whose mercy isn't always as tender as it might be.

Farmers, you must learn to "see" how to manage better. You must work an extra three or four hours per day, make your wife go in rags if she doesn't already do so, do without half enough furniture and dishes, dry goods boxes will do for furniture and pie-tins for dishes, drink water, don't be extravagant and buy tea and coffee and go without salt on your potatoes and then you will certainly be prosperous and may be come out even with the landlord.

"There would be no army of unemployed if labor was distributed where it is most needed." Where do you think labor is most needed? Is it not needed where the mines and factories are as badly as it is anywhere? I think it is and that is just where it is to be found at present. All they need, all they ask for is a chance to use the machinery that they themselves made but some greedy capitalist fished, literally stole, from them. It is not because we do not need coal, iron, or clothes that the mines and factories are not operating. It is because the masters want to force the price of coal and manufactured goods up and the price of labor down; force the laboring man to take a smaller portion of what he produces in exchange for his labor. And they are succeeding at their game pretty well for there are thousands of children in

the cities going half fed, half clothed and half frozen.

"Thousands of men would rather live in the cities and half starve and half freeze than go into the country and live in simple plenty." I think there must be something wrong with our typesetters. The author most probably meant that they were to go into the country and live in simple plenty of work with very little pay. That is if they were fortunate enough to secure a job. How is a family, who have not a cent of money, going to get into the country where it is alleged there is plenty of work? The railroad companies will not issue passes to them and a woman and babies can not be expected to become tramps.

"They look upon farm work almost with hatred", and why shouldn't they? It is the hardest work, the longest hours, and the smallest pay of any work in the United States.

The editor undoubtedly believes that if the working people would only cut out tobacco and booze they could have all of the luxuries of life and plenty of money to spare. I wonder if he knows the average amount the workingman spends for whiskey per year. He spends nine dollars and thirty cents a year on booze and if he would only save it all for two thousand years, he would have enough to buy a bull pup like the one Morgan bought recently. Not being satisfied with his booze he goes and spends seven dollars and eighty-nine cents for tobacco. If he would save this two thousand years he would have pretty near enough to buy another bull pup and then he wouldn't have to go to the five cent theater, he could have a dog fight all his own and there would be another five cents saved. You know every little bit counts.

Why shouldn't the workingman go to the theater? He builds it, makes the seats and all of the furnishings and yet if he goes to see what one looks like in operation he is accused of gross extravagance and is looked down upon as a spendthrift. If the workingman doesn't spend any money he will have all the more to turn over to the master at the end of the year. It is too bad, too bad, indeed.

It is something outrageous the way the American workmen squander their money. But after all of their extravagance, riotous living, expensive furniture, cut glass dishes, and five cent theaters they have the immense sum of one hundred and five dollars and twenty-seven cents left for their year's work. How long would it take them to save as much as Rockefeller's daily income amounts to? It would take a generation and then some.

Poor things! "They are subjects for pity." Yes, yes they certainly are. It is a pity they can't see what is to their best interests and vote for them. Oh! If they would only wake up they could throw off the iron yoke of capitalism. They could if they only would "see". They could cast off the mighty yoke of bondage from themselves and their wives and children and install the Co-operative Commonwealth where there would prosperity and happiness for everybody who would work, and there would be work for everybody who wanted it.

The great mass of people are kept in the dark by the capitalist press, which misrepresents things and tells the laboring people there is plenty of work smooched elsewhere besides where they are and when they go where they are told to, there is another capitalist press there to tell them there is work somewhere else, and so they are kept moving and kept in poverty.

SOCIALISTS WANT A FARM.

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Poet's Corner

(W. E. Hansen, Lewistown, Mont.)

It was born in dark oblivion, On ignorance 'tis fed— 'Twill make your life a living hell, 'Twill torture you when dead; For it feeds on superstition, 'Tis a base born, vile pretense, It degrades a man's condition, All it means is, "Dollars, Cents"; You must pay because you're living You must pay for all that's dead, For the privilege of giving, To a lazy priest his bread, For the souls in Purgatory, For the ones who dwell in Heaven 'Tis the never ending story, You must give to be forgiven, You must give because the bishop, Wants a vestment trimmed with gold, You must pay his wines and liquors, All his wants so manifold, If you're ignorant complacent, You will hear him loudly tell, How he'll get you into Heaven Or will send you down to Hell, So you needn't whine nor holler Nor like Tetzal try to cheat, Just you give the priest your dollar All he wants to drink and eat.

In the cross of Christ they glory, But they like the dollar best, They'll give you the fairy story— Of Hell where there's no rest, You must never read nor reason Ne'er allow yourself to think, But accept his words in season, Or you'll topple o'er the brink, And be damned and lost forever, For unless you've got the tin— You need not hope to sever, Yourself from Hell and sin, For the priest in somber cassock, With his fairy stories stands, While the sinners on the hassock, Kneel with dollars in their hands, Then he tells a little story, Of the socialists and sin, Thereby clothes himself with glory, In his pocket has the tin, That those kneeling on the hassock Held in their toil stained hands While he in somber cassock, Bounds them closer in the bands, 'Tis the rankest superstition, That ever came to Earth, Which bears constant repetition, Every time a child has birth, For the bishop in his glory, Knows that if all honest men, Knew the truthful honest story, Things would be different then.

For his lazy occupation Would be gone for good and all, And himself out on the section, Would be waiting for the call, To "hurry up to dinner, And then go back to work, But as sure as you're a sinner This labor he would shirk, For his graft is sure and certain, So long as men won't dare, To think and read and reason, And of Socialists beware! But now my dearest bishop, You needn't damn nor frown, For like the sword of Damocles, You may fall down—, You may hate and curse and damn us Say we're lost, beyond recall— But the popes, the priest and bishops, Are just plain men after all! By what power you're consecrated, And endowed with powers divine After the Socialists you've berated Kindly tell us in a line? Oh it's pay, pay, pay, pay, Morning, noon and night, Oh it's pay to keep from Hell, Pay to get the Heaven bright, It is here you may sometimes forget, To fast and pray —, But you don't forget to sing the song "Pay, pay, pay."

STUDY COURSE IN SOCIALISM.

Lesson III.—The Economics of Capitalism: .2.

What governs prices?—Wherever virtually free competition among buyers and among sellers prevails, we observe that the price of any commodity ordinarily oscillates about a certain point, now rising considerably above it, now falling considerably below it, but always tending to come down toward that point when it has gone above and to come up toward

it when it has gone below. Why this alternate upward and downward movement of prices about a median point, instead of an indefinitely continued rise or fall? By answering this question we shall approach the statement of the law of value, for the value of a commodity is that ideal price toward which its prices are always attracted (under competition) by the opposition of the forces which tend to raise or lower them. For instance, the price of a certain grade of cloth during a considerable period varies generally from 18 to 22 cents a yard, sometimes even going a little higher or lower, but always tending toward a level of 20 cents a yard. We say, then, that 20 cents a yard is the value of this cloth. But what makes its value 20 cents instead of 18 cents or \$1 or any other figure?

Supply and Demand.—We are often told that prices are governed by supply and demand. This is true. But it is also true that supply and demand are governed by prices.

It is true that— a) an increase of supply or a reduction of demand tends to lower prices, and b) an increase of demand or a reduction of supply tends to raise prices. But it is equal true that— c) an increase of price stimulates supply and checks demand, and d) a reduction of price checks supply and stimulates demand.

To apply this to our illustration. If the market has been unusually well supplied with this grade of cloth, or if the demand for such cloth falls off for any reason, the selling price will go down. But when the price goes down—say to 18 cents—manufacturers find it not very profitable to turn out such cloth, and reduce their output; at the same time, purchasers are tempted by the low price and buy larger quantities. These forces, resulting from the lowness of the price, cause the price to go up again. On the other hand, if the market is unusually ill supplied with this grade of cloth, or if the demand is larger than usual, the price will go up, say to 22 cents. At this rate it is highly profitable to manufacturer such cloth, mills are now run overtime, and the supply is increased; at the same time, purchasers are deterred by the high price and buy less. This increase of supply and reduction of demand resulting from the highness of the price, causes the price to go down again. The higher the price goes, the greater are the forces called into play tending to pull it down again; the lower the price goes, the greater are the forces called into play tending to drive it up again.

The law of supply and demand thus fully stated, explains the modus operandi of the continual oscillation of prices above and below value. But it does not explain the fixation of value itself.

The law of Value.—We have seen last week that the amount of value in a commodity must depend, not on its utility, but on the difficulty of obtaining it. — in a society like ours, where the vast industrial plant is always ready to adjust supply to demand, it is evident that the difficulty of obtaining any commodity resolve itself into a question of cost of production.

This is confirmed by the observation that every invention which reduces the amount of labor necessary to produce a certain kind of goods results in a permanent reduction of value.

From the study of these facts the old economists, especially David Ricardo, formulated a law of value which has stood the test of time and which Karl Marx made the basis of his system of economic theory. We may state it as follows:

The value of a commodity at any given time is proportionate to the amount of labor necessary to produce it by the methods and under the conditions generally prevailing at the time.

Comment on this Law.—We speak of the value of a commodity "at a given time." This is because values change with the changes in methods and conditions of production.

We say the value of a commodity is "proportionate" to a certain amount of labor, not that it is equal to it. We

cannot say that a certain amount of value is equal to a certain amount of labor, any more than we can say a certain weight is equal to a certain distance. Relations of equality and inequality can exist only between quantities of the same kind—one amount of value may be equal to another amount of value, one amount of labor to another amount of labor, one weight to another weight, etc. When we say that the value of a commodity is proportionate to the amount of labor necessary to produce it, we mean that if two commodities are of equal value, it is because equal amounts of labor are necessary for their production; but if the commodity is twice as valuable as another, it is because twice as much labor is needed to produce it.

We say the value of a commodity is proportionate to the amount of labor "necessary" to produce it, not to the amount of labor actually spent in producing it. Suppose a certain manufacturer uses old-fashioned machinery or has his factory badly organized, so that more labor is spent in producing a certain amount of goods in his factory than in other factories of the same kind. This will not make his goods more valuable than those of his competitors. He will have to sell at the same price as they or not at all.

We say "by the methods and under the conditions generally prevailing at the time." Suppose a new method has just been brought into general use by which the amount of labor necessary to produce certain goods is cut in half; and suppose some of the goods made by the old method are still in the market. The fact that more labor was required to produce these goods when they were made does not keep their value up; they will have to be sold at the same price as those made by the new method. Again, suppose conditions have so changed that it now requires more labor to produce certain goods than was formerly needed, and that some of the older goods remain in the market. The old goods will not be sold cheaper than the new, but the new conditions will affect the value of all the goods alike. Yet again, suppose a new method has been devised which cuts in half the necessary amount of labor, but that this method is as yet used by only a few manufacturers, who cannot fully supply the market. They will not cut their prices in half; they will cut them slightly, in order to expand their trade. But their competitors will be compelled to adopt the same methods or others having the same labor-saving effect, or be driven out of business. Step by step, as the new method comes into general use, the value or normal price of the goods will fall to half what it formerly was.

Finally, when we speak of the amount of labor necessary to produce certain goods, it must be understood that we include all the processes, from the production of the first cent of value in the raw material to the placing of the finished goods on the market, and the needful accessory processes as well as those directly affecting the materials. Thus the production of muslin shirts includes not only the labor of cutters, stitchers, etc., in the shirt factory, but also the labor which had to be spent in raising the cotton, ginning and baling it, transporting it, carding, spinning, and weaving it into muslin, and transporting the muslin; also the labor necessarily spent on the materials; also the labor necessarily spent in transporting the shirts to the market; also the labor which had to be spent in mining coal and transporting it to the factories; also the labor of firemen and engineers in the factories and of machinist, who kept the machinery in repair, also the labor of superintending and directing all these processes.

References:

Marx, Deville, or Hyndman, as before.

Questions for Review.

- 1. What is utility? In what respect does the economic use of this word differ from the popular use, in which ethical and other considerations are taken into account?
2. What articles have value?
3. Distinguish value from utility? What are the relations between them?
4. What is distribution, in the economic use of the word?
5. What is money? What is the relation of paper to real money?

A Voice from Idaho.

Delta, Idaho, Nov. 15, 1909. Editor Montana News.

Dear Comrade: It has been a long time since I have seen anything in the News from Idaho. Comrades, are we asleep? What are we doing? When we ought to be pushing the work of education, supporting our publications and strengthening our work in every possible way we are practically doing nothing. Let us wake up and go to work in earnest or disband entirely and get out of the road and let others go to work.

However, I think most socialists are not in favor of abandoning the socialist cause, at least I am not. So arouse and go to work. Where is state organization? Have we any? If so, comrades, let us do something.

Next year a state election is to be held in Idaho.

The socialist sentiment to-day in Idaho is stronger than ever before, but is practically of no power for want of organization. Owing to the physical features of our state it is expensive to have an organizer to attempt to cover the state.

Let each county put out an organizer, not a windy talker but one to go into every neighborhood and precinct, take subs, sell literature solicit funds for our cause, and my word for it, every county can take care of itself. Or two or three counties contiguous can work together.

We practically hold the balance of power in Idaho, so let us act to some purpose. Let us concentrate our purchasing power and use every means to make our power felt. Speak out, Comrades, Act, Act without delay! Shame on us that our papers have such a struggle to exist.

GEO. W. HERRINGTON.

Expects to be in the West.

Dear Graham: Yours of the 14th just caught up to me. Glad to hear from you. No, I did not know my sub had expired. Hard for me to keep track on the road of these things. Enclosed you will find a dollar to apply on the same. Only wish I could do more, for I feel it an outrage your paper has to fight as it does for existence. It has a field all to itself off in that corner of the United States. A field not covered otherwise—and regardless of factional differences, real socialists should be found supporting it loyally.

I expect to be in the far west the coming year, but not sure what part. Been in south part of the year. I see Virginia vote went from 250 to 1,400. It's a big fight. The worst part of the fight is in the socialists themselves. In every big city there seems to be a group whose function self constituted seems to be to tear down and disrupt. Only the tremendous growth of the movement and consequent running over the elements will stop the discouraging tactics of these gentry. The Flying Artillery, I call them, from the fact they turn up first in one town, then in another, with no visible means of support, but always looking as if they ate sometime.

You and Comrade Hazlett have put up a plucky fight for the News, and I hope to see the paper win out and become firmly established.

Fraternally and sincerely, yours GEO. H. GOEBEL, National Organizer.



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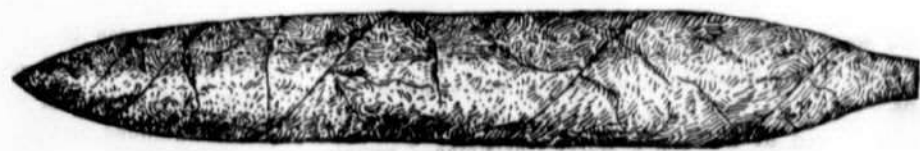
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LOCAL DEPARTMENT

Socialists Attention!!

Bishop Carroll of Helena has been very active in fighting Socialism and on every occasion he lets no opportunity pass to misrepresent Socialism. On Sunday, December 12th, Bishop Carroll gave a sermon against socialism, this sermon is being widely advertised by the capitalist papers. In fact Bishop Carroll is recognized as the greatest and most active opponent to the Socialist Party in Montana.

The Montana News has replied to Bishop Carroll's attack on Socialism. This issue of the News should be widely distributed all over the state especially among Catholics, as it will be of great propaganda value. Every local and every Socialist should do their best to see that the paper is put in the hands of every Catholic in Montana.

Extra copies of the News can be had in any quantity at the rate of One CENT A COPY.

Send in your orders for bundles as soon as possible so that we may know how many extra copies to print. Ten thousand extra copies of the Montana News of December 23 should be circulated.

Will you help to refute the falsehoods being circulated by the high priests of the church? Now is the time to help strike a blow for Socialism in Montana. Rush in your order for extra copies.

Yours in the fight for freedom

MONTANA NEWS.

Debt of Honor

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

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

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

Total\$37.00
To be raised \$500.00

Balance to get\$463.00

Bee Hive

By Trym Helper.

Here we are again! Still on deck and doing business for the laboring man. Here because a number of laboringmen support us. Here because a bunch of comrades support and believe in a free press, a press without a muzzle. But we need more strength and a greater reach. How can we get it? I'll tell you a little secret, one plus one equals two, two plus one plus two plus four equals a bunch. Now, ten thousand paid up subscribers will give us the strength we need. It will give us the longer reach. It will make this paper the **Only Laboringman's Paper of Montana**, a power not easily to be reckoned with. With that number of subscribers we can **Do Things**. You cannot get us the ten thousand subscribers. Oh, no. You can get **One**. You can get another, and another and another. Your one plus the other fellow's one makes two. Two plus other fellows ones, twos, fours and tens will make the two hundred each week necessary to give us the ten thousand. But we must have your one to start with. Go out and get one **Now**. Better yet, send in and get a bunch of sub cards now, then go out **right now** and get the names of the people to fill them when they come. **Do something now**. Comrades P. S. Glenn and J. A. Roades, Jr., of Lewistown send in a small donation. They are from the old stand-by, Fergus County. Missoula gets in early with a class of fourteen to be introduced to a years' sub each. Cumberland, Wyo., miners show their friendship by sending a big order for envelopes. The Taylor miners want to be remembered so they send in an order for 500 constitutions. The printer is getting scared at the way job work is coming in but Comrade Eidel of Helena says he must

have a generous supply of letter-heads.

Comrade Michael Graham of Deer Lodge, the father of our Jas. D., sends in two subs. The Grahams have a peculiar but good fault. Can you guess what it is

Henry Hagen of Fort Benton makes prisoners of four subs and sends them in. We will see that they don't escape.

Comrades Savik and Larson of Bynum, Mont., owners of one of Montana's large ranches send in their subs and top off a good thing with a big order for letter-heads, bill-heads and envelopes. Some comrades do not do things by halves.

Here comes our list of ones. They are our old stand-bys. They make the Montana News possible. One man in each town in Montana sending in one sub a week, would double our subscription list in six months. You appoint yourself the **Worker in Your town**.

Herbert Martin, Miles City.
Guy Muchman, Ovando.

And those who got two subs, just twice as valuable as the man who gets one:

Dan Job, Anaconda.
Michael Graham, Deer Lodge.
W. J. Knapp, Big Timber.

Missoula, Mont., Dec. 9, 1909.
Dear Comrade.

The letterheads received and are all O. K. and quite satisfactory and enclosed my check for same, would have answered sooner, but was waiting to see Graham, he has not shown up yet.

Most of our splendid local of last winter has moved away and all that is left, is the old reliable stationary war-horses of the past, which makes it rather hard, slow work, as we are all very busy and cannot get out to do work on the outside. Thanking you for prompt shipment of the order and wishing you success, I am

Fraternally yours,
J. W. REELY.

A communication from Deer Lodge, crowded out last week, from T. E. M. states that:

"The clerks organized a union here some time ago. They demanded the union wage scale and were ignored, so they went out on strike. The carpenters are out in sympathy. Some of the business men wanted to sign up and give the union what they demanded, but they were opposed by the strong hand of capitalism and had to yield against their own just inclinations. Some of the stores have strike-breakers working for them. The painters and plumbers are out in sympathy with the clerks. Everything looks favorable for the clerks to win."

Winston, Mont., Dec. 1, 1909.
Montana News, Helena, Mont.
Dear Comrade:

Please find enclosed the sum of \$1 for two years' subscription to your valued paper. Wishing you success and a Merry Christmas, I remain
Yours,
R. F. WHYTE.

A Trip through Ravalli County.
By James D. Graham.

Being out rustling subs for the Montana News I happened into Stevensville and spent a few days in that locality, visited with Comrade Gordon and sized up the movement generally.

The socialist sentiment in Stevensville is rather weak, very little propaganda work having been done, at least that is the conclusion one arrives at after making a canvass of the town in the interest of socialism. However, among the farmers that surround Stevensville one is surprised to find a strong socialist sentiment and one that should be cultivated and strengthened. If the socialist local at Stevensville will concentrate their efforts on the farmer and carry on a steady campaign of education, it will surely result in the great prejudice against socialism within the city of Stevensville being overcome.

Hamilton being the next place visited, and the local here being disorganized, after spending a few days in canvassing the city a meeting was called to meet at Comrades Kleinoder & Hobbs store which resulted in a local being organized. Hamilton is a city of about 4,000 inhabitants and being a working class town throughout there is no reason why a good active movement should not be built up. The new local starts off with the members determined to carry on an active propaganda.

There is a Finnish local at Hamilton composed of 35 members. An evening was spent with the Finnish comrades and a pleasant surprise was in store for me, the literature agent of the local showed me a large stock of cloth bound socialist books printed in the Finnish language, which if printed in English would cost from fifty cents to \$1.50.

No wonder the socialist movement among the Finnish is so strong and clear, the Finns believe in education.

An English speaking local can not compare with the Finns when it comes to educational propaganda. A few tracts of the "American Circus" brand, some five or ten cent pamphlets is the usual extent of the library of most of our locals. Almost every Finnish house I visited after supper some one was reading a cloth bound socialist book printed in Finnish and heavy socialist literature was everywhere in evidence. The homes of the Finns are not as richly furnished and as comfortable and cozy as the homes of our comrades of other nationalities, but the homes of our Finnish comrades are rich in literature. It does one's heart doog to witness the contrast. The Finns are a factor in the American socialist movement and are going to be a still greater factor.

When the Finnish socialists of Hamilton were told that the English speaking local in Hamilton was disorganized they were dismayed and expressed a great desire to see it reorganized and to the Finns must be credit be given to the effort spent to reorganize Local Hamilton.

While at Hamilton I took the opportunity to visit Como and Darby. There is a strong socialist sentiment in both places, years ago the socialist vote at Darby for governor lacked only six votes of tying with the republican candidate. The local here is in bad condition. Como is the home of the bolters of the state committee, and this man has not been acting as the majority of his local desired and the disrupting tactics displayed by the Committeeman of Como at our convention and committee meetings have had the same effect in his own community, disruption and discord being evident in local matters. The movement must shake up the local egotists or we won't make progress.

In the country in and around Darby there is a strong feeling for a united and harmonious party, both state and local. This is something that the socialists of Como and Darby should work for, the movement in Ravalli needs the organized efforts and help of the socialists of Como and Darby.

Victor which lies halfway between Hamilton and Stevensville was the next point visited. The local here is disorganized, the trouble being the same as at most other points the lack of a local secretary who can devote some time to the work. A good

local could be held together at Victor if only the right man would take up the work of secretary, some one who will act the same as a walking delegate or business agent of a union.

From the center of Victor extending out into the country for four miles socialists are everywhere evident and I hope to be able to visit Victor soon and hold a few meetings in the neighboring school houses.

An organizer could easily and profitably spend one month in Ravalli County along the Bitter Root valley. This county used to be one of the banner counties in the Montana movement and with good work and a little energy the socialists can easily poll 20 percent of the vote at the next election. Everywhere south of Stevensville in the county one meets socialists and what is more very little opposition among the workers to socialism.

Hamilton local should work with the object in view of nominating a municipal ticket next spring and the comrades of Stevensville should secure more readers for socialist papers, thereby eradicating the stubborn opposition to socialism and socialists that exists in their territory. It will be a waste of time and money to put speakers into Stevensville until a more thorough literature campaign has been carried through.

The entire county north of Stevensville has had practically no socialist work spent upon it and our comrades at Florence should be getting busy. The socialist vote is never larger than the circulation of socialist papers in any community, if you want a large socialist vote, get your neighbors to reading socialist papers. A large number of subscribers to the Montana News were secured in Ravalli County and we hope to see a still larger circulation in the home of the Red McIntosh.

JAMES D. GRAHAM.

Attention, Deer Lodge Socialists.

There will be a meeting of Local Deer Lodge, Socialist Party of Montana, at their hall on Thursday December 30th. Business of importance to be transacted. Every member is requested to be present.

Say! Have you thought of heading any job work into the Montana News office lately? We pay the express.

A comrade from Anaconda philosophizes as follows:

"Shakespeare says, All the World is a stage, and the people merely players, and each one must play his part from childhood to old age.

I certainly think he was right when we look around and see people playing such peculiar parts. If it had not been for the miseries brought about by such acting the world would certainly be an entertaining play. But when we see women giving cat and dog parties, and calling in ministers to marry their pets, while little children are feeding out of the garbage wagon, some of the audience are certainly getting disgusted. When we see men voting themselves into bondage that others may flit around the world committing all sorts of crime, while wives and children are slaving to keep themselves respectable, and often denied the necessities of life, I wonder why people choose such silly parts; and if I finally come to the conclusion that we have too many clowns in the drama of life. And I think it is up to the socialists to teach these people something different.

Teach them there can be no lasting prosperity until the workers get all the wealth they produce. Having a job for eight, ten, or twelve hours a day is not prosperity. And then one can not save enough in thirty years (unless he is a dead one) to keep him the remainder of his life. For my part I do not believe in sacrificing thirty years of my life that I may live without working five or ten years. I believe that we should enjoy this life as much as possible in a rational way. We can not have much pleasure then under the present conditions.

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The vote on secretary has resulted in the election of M. M. Laurens of Butte, a number of the largest locals in the state not voting.

The inference is that a large number of the party disapprove of the headquarters at Butte. This has always been the seat of corruption and a disruptive center in the Montana party. The Butte party was corrupted by the Amalgamated at its inception, and Local Butte has fought the News bitterly ever since its start, and if it should be crushed ultimately Butte will be the chief cause. The headquarters were originally moved from Butte for these causes.

A Missoula friend writes: "The corporations never tackle any one who does nothing. It is only the workers that draw the fire of the enemy. Graham and Hazlett are the ones that sacrificed or starved if anything of that kind had to be done. And it is the duty of myself and every socialist to stand by them, and resent any attacks on them. There are operatives, spies, in all our unions—why not in the socialist party? The active men in the unions are the ones whose characters the spies try to destroy; and the same tactics are pursued against the active socialists."