

TARS TELL SOLONS OF SLAVERY ON SEA

Union Leaders Testify Before House Committee That Boys and Landlubbers Manned the Ships—Law authorized by Government Makes Sailors the Property of Shipowners

BIG LAKE STRIKE

BEFORE CONGRESS

Chairman From State where Shipowners and Shipbuilders Have No Love for Trades Unions--- Fugitive Seamen's Law in Force

Washington, D. C.—"They manned their ships with boys—boys, whose trousers only came down to their knees—to break the strike on the great lakes."

The chairman of the House Committee, on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, raised his hand impatiently to the Secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union.

"Do you mean to tell this committee that these great corporations, these immense investments of capital, would risk their vessels in the hands of boys?"

It was the second day's hearing of the sailor's side of the testimony offered in favor of Representative Spight's bill for the protection of seamen. Secretary Olander, broad-shouldered, blue-eyed, the hard knit figure of a man who would be picked out in any waterfront gathering as the mate, weighed his answer to Chairman Green:

"To break a strike—yes. They do not mind losing a vessel or two, if it's insured."

"You ask what these boys do? They act as deck hands, as watchmen, or even as coal-passers. There is no law to prevent. I saw five lads on the 'Rockefeller' out of a crew of ten. On the 'Mayor' they had a lad of fourteen years working in the fire-room, and when he took sick from exhaustion they chucked him out on the docks."

Backing up his verbal testimony, Secretary Olander produced copies of the minutes of the 5th annual meeting of the Pittsburg Steamship Companies' officers—this is the lake-end of the United States Steel corporation owning over one hundred vessels—in which General Manager Colby is quoted as saying "in a good many cases the men we shipped as watchmen, have never been on a ship before."

Undermanned, regardless of consequences, vessels in the seaway will frequently have but one man on deck in addition to the officer. The 'Eads' a vessel of four hundred feet long, sailed to Duluth with "only one man to relieve the other two watches."

From the port of San Francisco the

marine firemen sent their financial secretary, Patrick Flynn, to ask that law be made compelling shipowners to have at least three watches in the fire-room.

"We go into the fire-room and strip off everything except our underdrawers and shoes," explained Flynn, "and there, in 150 degrees of heat, they compel us to work twelve hours out of the twenty-four. It is deadly, no man can stand it. Look into the glare of an oil-burning furnace and it takes you five minutes before your eyes can read the gauge. In France, Germany, and other countries, three watches is the law—why can't the United States give as good protection to her seamen?"

In a memorial just issued as Senate Document No. 379, the Legislative Committee of the International Seamen's Union of America declares:

"Existing maritime law makes of us, excepting in the domestic trade of the United States, the property of the vessel on which we sail. We cannot work as seamen without signing a contract which brings us under this law. The contract is fixed by the law or authorized by the government. We have nothing to do with its terms. We either sign it and sail, or we sign it not and remain landmen.

"When signing this contract, we surrender our working power to the will to another man at all times while the contract runs. We may not, on penal punishment, fail to join the vessel. We may not leave the vessel, although she is in perfect safety.

"If the owner thinks he has reason to fear that we desire to escape, he may, without judicial investigation, cause us to be imprisoned for safe-keeping until he shall think proper to take us out."

Must Work Eighteen Hours out of a Possible Twenty-Four.

Washington, D. C.—"You will give your name, occupation, and address," said the fat, white-faced chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to the gaunt, sunburnt sailorman that stood at the opposite end of the long committee-room table.

Spight's bill, H. R. 11193, for the better protection of seamen, was under consideration.

"I am Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seamen's Union of America," commenced the speaker, "and three things the sailors are now asking for: Regulation of the hours of our labor—a man may now be compelled to stand eighteen hours on watch, and twelve hours of this at the wheel; law compelling shipowners to stop undermanning their vessels, and abolition of the old law which allows a sailor to be imprisoned for what is called violation of contract. It is the truth, that today sailors get more protection on foreign vessels than they do on American ships, and it is my purpose to show—

"One moment, Mr. Furuseth"—the interruption came from Chairman Green of the state of Massachusetts, where shipowners and shipbuilders have no love for trades unions. "If you would do away with the old law of imprisonment, what would you propose to do in cases of desertion?"

"The same as is done in the coast-wise trade," came back the answer, like a pistol shot. "Is it not enough that a sailor loses his clothes and his pay, when a master's brutalities may force him from the ship, without treating him like a runaway slave?"

These laws date back to 1700. The fugitive-slave law was modeled upon the fugitive seamen's law, but when you repealed the fugitive-slave law you forgot the seaman and they are still, under the law, runaway slaves."

American Wages—Hongkong Wages.

A representative of the steamship companies, Edwin H. Dug, had been twisting his chair at Furuseth's statements; he broke silence with a drawl.

"Does the gentleman from the seamen's union mean to say that conditions are better on foreign vessels than they are on American ships? That American wages—"

"American wages!" broke in Furuseth. "There is no such thing as American wages—only port wages. If an American vessel sails to Hongkong, she pays Hongkong wages."

Representative McKinlay of California asked a question: "What wages do the Japanese lines pay?"

"Eighteen dollars, Mexican money—that's \$9 value in American money. And what's more," continued the sailor, "the Japanese pay more wages to their firemen than the Pacific Mail does."

McKinlay's next question was pointed: "You ask that all seamen on American ships be required to understand orders given in the English language; now what effect would this have on the Pacific Mail?"

"It would cause the immediate dis-

charge of all their Orientals," replied Furuseth. "But I ask you, in all fairness, should the lives of passengers be placed in the hands of men who can not understand an order given in English?"

Around the walls of the committee-room were hung pictures of great liners, the "Red D Line", and many others, significant of the potent influence that has again and again twisted, postponed, and smothered bills for the betterment of seamen's conditions and sacred safety for human cargoes. But the sailor with his plea continued:

"We demand that there shall be sufficient space for each man to sleep in—at least six by six by two feet; long enough for an ordinary-sized man to stand up in, long enough for this same man to lie down in. France, Germany, Norway, all provide that there shall be at least 120 cubic feet of space for each seaman—we ask the same.

"It is a fact that the United States man-of-war 'Monterey' has only ninety cubic feet air space per man, and the ship's doctors report much sickness as a result.

The Cheapest Possible Labor at Risk of Loss of Ship.

"The truth is, gentlemen, there has been a total change in the relations of ship owners to vessels. In olden times owners might lose the total value of their ships, but now the systems of insurance remove all this risk and today the main point of the shipowner is to obtain the cheapest possible labor. The shipowner's risk is not sufficient to compel him to employ able seamen. On the high seas but fifteen per cent of the total cost of operating a vessel is expended in wages and living of the men—on the lakes it is less than twelve per cent."

Having concluded, the President of the Seamen's Union gave way to another notable figure in the sailor's organization, Secretary Victor A. Olander, from the great lakes, who told of the strike forced by the Lake Carrier's Association, in which these shipowners had used, as strikebreakers, men from the Pittsburg steel mills who had never in their lives served as sailors.

Advertisements, clipped from lake-side papers, calling for men to man the vessels "who have never sailed before", were offered as evidence by Secretary Olander. He gave the details of the "industrial passport system" employed by the Carrier's Association, by which the union men were blacklisted, and told of the oath, forced upon every would-be employee, to resign from the union.

Patrick Flynn, Financial Secretary of the Marine Firemen, and Secretary William H. Frazier, of the International Seamen's Union, added testimony in support of the strong case that had been made for the bill.

SERVING THE MASTERS

ONLY TOO WELL

Howl of "Deficit" Only a Slick Trick to Give Government a Chance to Get at Socialist Publications--- Stop Graft and Deficit Will Stop

A number of citizens of Hamilton, Montana, sent a protest to Senator Joe Dixon against the proposed increase in postage on second class mail matter. The senator replied in a type-written letter of two pages in which he expresses his great delight at hearing from his constituents in Montana relative to public affairs; thus, at least, granting that socialists are his constituents.

He professes not to understand the "proposed tax on periodicals", and says he knows of no such matter pending in congress. But he goes on to admit that he has a hazy idea that reference is made to the recommendation of the Postmaster General regarding the deficit in the postal revenues owing to the great cost of carrying magazines and other publications which are largely devoted to advertising purposes, with just enough of literature to give the character of a magazine. He thinks the dear public is imposed upon by allowing the magazines to be carried at the one cent a pound rate, when it costs the post office department 8 cents a pound to carry this same matter.

Mr. Dixon says it costs the people of the United States sixty-three million dollars per annum, which largely goes into the pockets of the rich magazine publishers.

Mr. Dixon does not seem to think it necessary to make the suggestion that instead of raising the rate on periodicals the rate be reduced to the railroads for hauling the same. Mr. Dixon says nothing of this deficit going into the pockets of the rich railway companies. He makes a veritable bogie of imaginable rich publishers, but the railway magnates that own the country, including congress and its laws, are never mentioned. The railroad corporation attorneys control congress, they control the committees, they control the exorbitant and absurd rates that the government pays the railroads for the slightest service. It pays enough rent for the mail cars to buy them every year besides paying any old fancy price for the haul.

Stop the graft, stop the useless sal-

aried officials, and the "deficit" will soon stop. The howl of "deficit" is only a slick trick to give the government a chance to get a whack at the "muckraking" magazines, and especially the socialist publications. The proposed measure is simply in line with the numerous attempts that have been made against free speech, socialist workers, a free press, and everything that tends to break down the graft of a present ruling class. There are a hundred ways to stop the "deficit" besides putting a tax on the free and cheap circulation of information and discussion to the public.

The "Washington Post" gives the game away. It says, "The proposed measure will be an acceptable relief to the people who are now taxed to maintain myriad publications that are in effect mere bunches of advertisements between which are sandwiched socialist essays, the formation of fantasticisms, or a little tawdry fiction apothecizing criminals and crime."

Dixon says that the publications that are starting a crusade against the tax are posing as martyrs, when they are really getting rich off the government subsidy.

Oh, yes, the socialist party papers are getting rich. Too bad it should be such a crime for socialist papers to get rich and such an admirable thing for railroads to get rich off a government subsidy. Besides the eight cents a pound bluff is only a bugaboo. In 1901 the total weight of second-class matter was 529,444,573 pounds, and the deficit was \$3,923,727; by 1909 the total weight had increased 294,161,297 pounds. Now if this increased weight had cost eight and two-thirds cents per pound, the deficit should have been \$28,435,591.06, but it was only \$17,479,770.47. Now we have high authority for the statement that the rural delivery system involved a loss of \$28,000,000. It will not do to charge the loss against second-class and against free delivery too. If there really was a loss of \$28,000,000 on rural delivery then there was no loss at all, but a gain of \$10,520,000.

(Continued on Page 4.)

THE MONTANA NEWS.

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THE HUNGER TARIFF.

Victor Berger of Milwaukee, in discussing the high price of foods, denominates the situation as the 'hunger tariff'.

What an excellent thing it would be if the trades councils of every city would hold these big mass meetings, and analyze for the public the real causes of high prices.

The chaos of individual production is producing its legitimate result. Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, makes a report on the situation that illustrates the cyclonic power of the private ownership of the earth.

Again the improvement and increasing science in the means of obtaining gold has cheapened that product. It is being produced more extensively and at less cost.

Labor has to face permanently increasing high prices for the future. What is it going to do about it?

EASTERN IMPOSSIBILISM ON WESTERN CONDITION.

Henry L. Slobodin, a New York lawyer socialist, writes a vicious article in the February "International Review" against Wisconsin socialists.

tack on Wisconsin socialists and their efforts, Mr. Slobodin's utterance consists largely of a comparison between the laws of Wisconsin and those of various western states, including Montana.

Wisconsin is an old farming state, and the unions had a hard time to get a start. The laws are antiquated. Twenty years ago labor was stronger in Montana than it is today.

Were Montana as fortunate as Wisconsin in having a strong, militant socialist movement, and the same proportion of intellectual socialist giants that Wisconsin has, we would be conspicuous for our advancement on the road to socialism.

Slobodin speaks of Montana's Employers' Liability Act. True, Montana has such an act, but it is of no value to the workers.

The Montana law is patterned after the Iowa law. The supreme court decision is based on the Iowa supreme court decision.

I hold (and did when I was actively engaged in the trades union fight) that the Socialist party cannot and should not stand in the relation of dictator, or schoolmaster, to the trades union.

"Very good! That is the Milwaukee idea," cries Victor Berger. "Yes, and it is the idea of Bebel, and of the great Socialist parties of Europe," cries Robert Hunter.

In 1869 Marx visited Hanover, where he stayed with his old friend, Dr. Kugelmann. At that time, he gave an interview to Herr Hamann, Secretary of the German Metal Workers' Trades Union.

Mr. Slobodin does not seem to be aware that Nevada owns its own state printery. This is owing to the fact that organized labor was a power when Nevada became a state.

In the recent elections in Allegheny County, Pa., thirty odd socialists were elected as Inspectors of election on the Socialist ticket.

Marx, Bebel and Berger. By John Spargo.

Robert Hunter has told us that the Milwaukee Socialist policy is not original; that it is, after all, only the traditional policy of international socialism.

My genial friend "Bob" has discovered that Berger has no right to claim a patent for what he (proud and incurable provincial that he is) calls "the Milwaukee idea".

(I need hardly remind you that the essence of this idea is that the Socialist party and the trades unions are to the working class what the two arms are to a man's body.

It is perfectly true that Bebel, learning by experience the folly of his old belief that the unions should be subservient to the political movement, has reached a very different position.

Bebel would have the trades unions enter politics, but not into party politics, if I understand aright the address on "Labor Unions and Political Parties", which Comrade Elizabeth Thomas, the efficient state secretary of Wisconsin, has translated and published in pamphlet form.

He would not have the unions impose political tests of membership, any more than he would have them impose religious tests.

Of course, he would have the individual trades unionist join the party of his class and become active in it; "Although the trades union must go into workingmen's politics, but not necessarily party politics, yet for the individual member of the trades union, the hour will come when he must give due expression to his convictions in a fight of political parties.

"The trades union has no right to question him about his political convictions, nor has it the right to prescribe to him to what party he shall belong outside of the trades union."

What mischief would have been averted, and how different our history must have been, had this broad view always characterized the attitude of American Socialists upon the trades union question!

"Right you are, both of you," I respond. "It was also the view of a greater man than Berger or Bebel. It was the policy which Carl Marx himself urged, many years ago."

At Pittsburg a strong movement is on foot to establish a \$50,000 municipal butchering plant in order to cheapen the cost of meat to the people.

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they are formed. If this happens it means their death blow."

There is no mistaking the meaning of language like that!

"The trades unions are the schools for Socialism, the workers are there educated up to Socialism by means of the incessant struggle against capitalism which is being carried before their eyes.

And these brave words should be read by all those short-sighted socialists, who think that to improve the lot of the workers will wean them from us.

"The greater mass of the workers conceive the necessity of bettering their material position, whatever political party they may belong to. Once the material position of the worker has improved, he can devote himself to the better education of his children; his wife and children need not go to the factory, and he himself can pay some attention to his own mental education, he can the better see to his physique.

Bear in mind: It is Marx who speaks here. Hunter traced the "Milwaukee idea" from Berger back to Bebel. Now, as these quotations prove, we can trace it further back, to Karl Marx.

"Marxism" is not merely a body of theory; there is also a practical "Marxism", which has been too much neglected.

Capitalism Responsible for the Wellington Horror.

The Switchmen's strike for living wages and better conditions to work under, and capitalism's desire to crush labor, furnishes a death-dealing demonstration of the class struggle at Wellington.

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FRED C. KUHN, Prop.

Don't you want some socialist envelopes? The Montana News prints them in red ink—only 65 cents a hundred. Make Uncle Sam distribute your socialist propaganda.

Do you know of any job work, or any printing of any kind that you could just as well get for a worker's print shop as for a capitalist shop? If so send it in to the News.

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

Order your Job Work NOW.

Poet's Corner

FORGIVEN IN RE.

Live to the end—there is joy in the living. Peace in the sorrow that triumphs o'er wrong.

Blest is the heart that to others is giving. Motive intense to be upright and strong.

From glowing heights afar Beams hope's refulgent star; Listless the lips that break not into song.

What is the scorn of the world and its sighing? Weak the contempt of the idle and vain;

Bound in the shackles of self they are lying. Maddened with greed and corrupted with gain.

Leap to the fight again, 'Tis the right again, Bear its bright banner though legions be slain.

Do not despair; 'tis the whine of the coward, Spurn like a serpent each dark traitor's wile;

Somewhere a friend midst the enemies towered. Somewhere a lift, or a tear, or a smile.

Years are before you still; Life's crystal fountains fill Full the rich goblet of glory through trial.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

Borah's Income Tax.

A dramatic prophecy of evil times which might result if the income tax amendment to the Constitution is not ratified by the necessary two-thirds of the states, was delivered in the senate by Senator Borah (Rep., Idaho).

"If the amendment to the Constitution can be defeated," Borah said, "then this government of the people, for the people and by the people (laughter), will stand alone among all the civilized nations of the earth shorn of the power to tax that form of wealth best able to bear the burdens of government.

"You can defeat this amendment," the Idaho senator continued, dramatically, "but when the people learn what you have really done, it will go far toward exciting to renewed force that feeling of wrath, of class hatred already too strong among us. It will do much to foster disrespect for, and breed disloyalty to the government.

Borah challenged the opinion of Governor Hughes that the income tax amendment, if adopted, would give the government the power to tax state bonds. It would add nothing to the taxing power of the national government, he said.

The Scandinavian Socialist Agitation Committee by resolution recommends to the National Executive Committee action relating to the May Day celebration as follows: To work out a strong resolution for use at the meetings on the following lines: The abolition of the injunction against labor unions; for a law for the eight-hour day, and better protection for workers in shops, mines and factories and favorable to the reduction of military expenses of the nation.

Send your Job Work to the News.

WEEKLY LESSON FOR SOCIALIST LOCALS AND MEMBERS.

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

STUDY COURSE OF SOCIALISM

Classes and the Class Struggle.

Economic Foundation of Society.—Men have always been compelled by necessity to act together in some manner in getting their living. This fact involves then in certain economic relations with each other. These relations are not dependent upon the will or opinion of individuals, but upon the stage of economic progress which society has reached.

The dominant factor in social evolution is the development of the material means and methods of production and exchange, through discoveries, inventions, and technical experience. In general, this development is in the direction of greater efficiency of production and greater facility of exchange, with increasing specification and increasingly complex relations among men. Upon the development of the methods of production and exchange and of the property relations connected with them depends the development of manners and habits of life, legal and political institutions, intellectual and ethical conceptions, and even religious beliefs.

Class Divisions and Exploitation.—From a very early period in history, every people has been divided into two or more classes, the basis of the division being the system of property relations. These class divisions have always involved some measure of exploitation, imposing a heavier burden of work upon certain classes and giving others more leisure, wealth, and power. There have been many forms of class division and exploitation—slavery of various kinds, in which the persons of the workers are held as property; serfdom of different kinds, in which the workers have some rights, but have to work for the benefit of their lords; and other methods involving less interference with the personal liberty of the workers, but even more effective exploiting them by depriving them of some of the necessary means of making a living. The latest and most effective of these, which is rapidly supplanting all others, is the relation of capitalist and proletarian, or wage worker.

Evolution and Revolution.—Each successive system of property relations and class division, with the institutions connected with it, is adapted to a certain stage in the development of production and exchange. But every such system is bound up with the interests of the then dominant class or classes, which strive to maintain it intact. On the other hand, the methods of production and exchange go on developing within this established system, giving rise to a new class or classes, whose interests conflict with those of the dominant classes and are not served by the existing property relations and institutions. After a time this development reaches a point where the old system becomes a positive obstacle to the further growth of production and exchange. The antagonism between old property relations and institutions and the new economic methods becomes acute. The conflict between the old ruling classes and the classes which have newly risen to importance breaks out into a more or less clearly conscious class struggle. As a result of this struggle, the new class or classes come into power and new institutions and property relations are introduced, more advantageous to these new classes and better adapted to the methods of production and exchange which have now been developed.

The evolution of society, therefore, is not a process of steady growth in a certain direction, nor is it a series of accidental cataclysms. It consists of two alternating phases—periods of gradual development within the forms

of a given economic system, and periods of sudden and often violent change by which the old system is destroyed and a new one brought into existence, based upon the new economic conditions which have been produced during the preceding period of gradual internal growth. These periods of rapid readjustment we call revolutions. They are not exceptions to the evolutionary process, but are normal phases of evolution. Class struggles are not disturbances artificially fomented by conspirators and agitators, but are the necessary consequence of the antagonism between the interests and tendencies of various classes. A revolution is not simply the triumph of new ideas, but is fundamentally the triumph of vigorous and growing classes over superannuated and decadent ones, and the triumph of new and more efficient methods of production and exchange over antiquated and relatively inefficient ones. Men cannot at any time freely choose whether or not there shall be a revolution, or what kind of a revolution it shall be. No class can make a revolution until it has the power as well as the desire to do so; and when a class has developed the necessary power, it must take such revolutionary action as its economic circumstances demand or else commit suicide as a class. The new system resulting from a revolution is not framed according to the arbitrary choice of the revolutionists, but must be adapted to the existing economic forces and conditions; the revolutionists are able to put their preconceived theories into effect only in proportion as these theories correspond to the facts of economic development.

Class Rule and Progress.—The subject classes have not always been the classes most capable of furthering human progress. The aspirations of the most exploited classes have often been reactionary. The greatest forward steps in civilization have been made, not by rising of the exploited classes, but by the advent of new exploiting classes in place of old ones and the establishment of new forms of exploitation more favorable to the development of the productive powers of society. In general, up to the present age, the maintenance of order, advancement of knowledge, and improvement of methods of production have depended upon the existence of classes freed from the necessity of working for a living. Each ruling class has for a time performed functions useful to society; each has later become useless and pernicious to social welfare.

In recent times, however, the powers of production have been so greatly increased and the intelligence of the masses so largely developed that it is impossible for all to be maintained in comfort by an amount of labor which, if systematically organized, would leave leisure and opportunities for culture for all. It has now become possible for the exploited class to be also the constructively revolutionary class. In asserting its own interests, it asserts also the highest interests of civilization. In emancipating itself, it will put an end to economic class divisions and exploitation. It is the wage working class or proletariat which occupies this unique position.

Material and Ideal Motives.—This Marxian theory of social progress is misrepresented by those who say that individuals or classes always act in accordance with their material interests and that self-interest is the only motive that counts as a force in social evolution. In fact, religious beliefs, moral sentiments, intellectual conceptions, and social customs often override material interests. But the Marxian theory shows that these ideal motives have their origin in economic conditions and that their effect in social affairs is subject to the controlling influence of economic necessities.

1. The conduct of the members of any class is governed partly by motives of self-interest, partly by beliefs, sentiments, ideals, etc. But these beliefs, sentiments, and ideals result from the environment in which the persons are born and bred; and this environment consists essentially in their economic position. Each class

has its peculiar psychology. Men of the same race, put into different economic positions, in time develop widely different moral characteristics, and each group requires a moral code, a religious conviction, and a general view of life corresponding to its environment. A change in methods of production and exchange transforming the environment of any class, gives its members a new point of view, new experiences, new knowledge, new pleasures and sufferings, new hopes and fears, and so alters their beliefs, sentiments, ideals, and prompts them to new modes of conduct.

2. Not only are these ideal motives by previously existing economic conditions, but also their action as factors in social progress is controlled by present economic conditions. Beliefs, sentiments, and ideals often have great weight as conservative forces, retarding social change. They often have great weight as progressive forces, if they coincide with the economic tendency of the times—i. e., if they favor an economically vigorous class and promote such changes as would increase the productive powers of society. But such ideal forces are futile or suicidal when they work in a direction opposite to economic evolution; a social transformation effected by these forces and reducing the economic efficiency of society would only doom that society to destruction at the hands of some other society more economically efficient.

References.

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

- 1. Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice," Chapters II and III. 2. Spargo, "Socialism," Chapter IV. Also, within the next three weeks, to read at least one of the following:

- 1. Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," including the Preface, but omitting the last two sections on "Socialist and Communist Literature" and "Position of the Communists", which are out of date and confusing. 2. Engels, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," including the Introduction.

Questions for Review.

- 1. State the difference between real wages and nominal or money wages. 2. What are the two main causes for general rise of commodity prices during the last fifteen or twenty years? Upon what classes does the burden of rising prices fall? Who benefits by it? 3. Does a change in the relative proportions of surplus-value going to land owners, investors, and active capitalists (rent, interest and profit) have any direct effect upon the condition of the working class? If so, what? 4. Since the concentration of the ownership in the hands of fewer capitalist results in giving a larger share of the product of labor to the capitalists and a smaller share to the workers, why is it not advisable for the working class to co-operate with the small capitalist in opposing concentration and striving to re-establish small capitalism?

San Francisco Leads.

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