

Another Letter on Berger Case

Milwaukee, Wis., July 20, 1905.

Comrade Editor:—On behalf of the Wisconsin members of the Socialist Party, I wish to submit a few words upon the referendum which is about to be submitted to a vote of the party. This referendum calls for the removal of Comrade Victor L. Berger from the National Executive Committee, and the expulsion of the Wisconsin organization, unless we apply for and accept a charter.

We hope that the members of the Socialist party will vote "no" upon this referendum. Wisconsin comrades have spent many years of hard work and many thousands of dollars and have distributed tons of literature to build up their movement. We do not believe that the Socialists of America will wantonly destroy the results of so much labor and sacrifices.

We have a splendid proletarian organization in Wisconsin. The firm foundation of this movement is shown by the fact that our vote has steadily grown without any sudden gain and without any setback at all. In our last general election we had 28,000 Socialist-Democratic votes in this state.

We now have 32 elected Socialist-Democratic officials in Wisconsin including five members of the legislature, and almost every one of the thirty-two is a wage-worker and a member of a labor union. All these men are doing work which is a credit to the party, and which shows how well-fitted are intelligent workmen for public office.

We say this in no boastful spirit. We know that all true Socialists will feel that this success of ours is their success, and that in just such proportion as the party triumphs in one state, just so much is it to the advantage of the party in every other state.

Therefore the Wisconsin members call upon their comrades all over the country not to deal a blow at our splendid movement just for the sake of a little piece of paper.

We pay dues to the national headquarters and comply with all the provisions of the national constitution.

True, we have no charter, but the constitution does not require us to have one.

The Wisconsin Party had long been organized when it became one of the contracting parties which formed the Socialist Party at the "Unity Convention" at Indianapolis in 1901. It was understood at that time that the states already organized needed no new charters and that their vote to form a union of the various organizations admitted them to the new Socialist Party. We possess all kinds of charters from pre-Anti-Socialist enemies have made a great deal of this whole affair and if this referendum passes, will use it still more to our divisive Socialist parties. And since we were already an official party in Wisconsin in 1901 and had been one of the contracting organizations in the Unity Convention, we thought we should invalidate the agreement there entered into, if we asked for an extra charter.

By the fact that national headquarters always accepted our dues, although we have no charter, they have acknowledged our affiliation with the party.

The fact that we have no paper document is not a sufficient cause for expelling an organization that has proved it can do good work for Socialism without a charter. It surely cannot be a good reason for excommunicating members who have labored so faithfully, so long, and so successfully.

We do not believe that the Socialists of America will stand for any such proceeding.

The question in regard to the removal of Comrade Berger has already been pretty fully discussed. It has been pointed out that Comrade Berger did not violate any clause of the national constitution when in our last judicial election in Milwaukee, where we had no ticket in the field, he worked

against the election of a candidate who represented the bitter opposition to Socialism of a certain narrow-minded section of the Roman Catholic clergy.

That the National Committee themselves admitted this to be the case, is proved by the fact that they have since passed a rule that no member can vote at all when there is no Socialist ticket in the field. This rule was not passed nor even thought of when Comrade Berger advised his readers to vote against Judge Carpenter, one of nine individual candidates, and therefore Comrade Berger could not at that time have disobeyed it.

It has also been shown that Comrade Berger acted in accordance with the tactics of International Socialism. The great leader of the German Socialists, August Bebel, himself said that the Bavarian comrades had "violated no principle, and not even the tactics of the party" when they had even entered into an open alliance with a reactionary party—something we have never thought of in Wisconsin.

And the Hanover Convention in 1889 by a vote of 205 to 34 even decided that the party should not "refuse to combine with capitalist parties whenever the case may require it." This rule is in force in Germany to this day. It is a fact well known to those who are acquainted with the international in France, Italy, Belgium, and Denmark, that the Socialist Party has on very numerous occasions entered into OPEN ALLIANCES with bourgeois parties.

Comrade Berger and the Milwaukee comrades are earnestly opposed to all fusion. We merely cite these cases to show that our comrades abroad go infinitely farther than we, and the soundness of their Socialism has never been called in question.

It has been objected that the conditions in Europe are entirely different from those in America, because in European countries there still remain many relics of feudalism.

But in point of fact, even in America we have one of the best preserved relics of the feudal age and one which has given most trouble to our comrades abroad. I refer to the power of the Roman Catholic clergy, which in most European countries has been used to fight Socialism.

What has been the motive for the alliance of German and other European Socialists with the "liberal" capitalistic parties? The motive has usually been that they could unite against the clerical party which so bitterly opposes Socialism in most countries of Europe.

With such an opposition we are confronted in Milwaukee. And that is the reason that our tactics had to conform somewhat to European Socialist tactics, although we did not go one thousandth part as far.

The Socialists of Europe could not conceive of such a thing as the removal of an old and tried comrade from the national councils on such a charge as that brought against Comrade Berger. In fact, we can ill afford to spare such self-sacrificing and experienced members as Comrade Berger from our National Executive Committee.

Such measures as the removal of Comrade Berger from the National Executive Committee and the expulsion of the Wisconsin members from the Socialist party will seriously injure the Socialist movement in Milwaukee and throughout the country. The capitalist press in Milwaukee has devoted a great deal of space to this matter and sneers at the "unjust, cold-blooded, and tyrannical methods" employed by the Socialists. Such measures the Anti-Socialists declare are a sample of what would be done under the Co-operative Commonwealth. Our advantage.

Let the members of the Socialist party thoughtfully consider and carefully weigh this matter, and examine all sides before they

vote on this most serious question. This is not a trifling affair. The interests of the Socialist movement of America are deeply concerned.

E. H. THOMAS,
State Secretary.

[We give the above letter space because it is no more than just that the comrades of Wisconsin be heard. However the News takes no stock in the communication because it smacks too strong of the baby act. There are just three points of interest in the letter. If the above explanation of the charter proposition is true then the party should adopt a new ruling because all will grant that such kind of business is pretty loose work. The comparison of, and reference to the German movement is not a parallel case for Comrade Berger to base his action of supporting a capitalist candidate. The difference in the Socialist German condition and American are too well known. The third proposition is that Comrade Berger is no larger than any other member of the party and when he digresses from what he knows is right, or at least should know it, he should stand amenable to the party for his conduct. The baby part of the above letter is in the silly pleading for Berger. Let Mr. Berger take his punishment and then stand aligned with the movement ready to not make another mistake of supporting a capitalist candidate. I am confident that the Socialists of Montana, who have not been in the movement near as long as Berger has been, would call the Montana News to task in a pretty severe way were it to support any capitalist candidate. Let Wisconsin have a charter and let her get in line.—Editor.

Caused by The Capitalist System

The half-hearted, weak-minded policy of the republican administration in its prosecution of the trusts and criminal combinations who have conspired to rob the people in every practical manner is so hypocritical and shameless that it is becoming a matter of public scandal. Over half a million of dollars has been expended upon the prosecution of these villainous outfits and the Lord only knows where it will end and when.

While it may make interesting reading matter for some of the great newspapers and a big graft for the lawyers, it is becoming a stench in the nostrils of the people. It is like setting robbers and thieves to prosecute those of their own class, or to execute the law.

The political administration of a country depends upon the financial or economical administration. With our present slavish, vicious, industrial system it is impossible to have a clean and honest administration no matter what political party is in power or who is at the head of it. Our present economic system is radically and essentially wrong and it is impossible to correct it without revolutionizing the entire system and the sooner we start in to do so the better for all classes. Revolutions are righteous always and tend to the betterment of mankind in general. They may serve to subvert some certain class but they should be welcomed as the regenerating influence in society. Then let us help on the cause of truth and justice all that we are able by word and deed, no matter who or what stands in the way.

Some are so blind and bigoted that to them conservatism is the only patriotism with which they are familiar, while with some capitalism and patriotism are identical. Commercialism rules the earth and is the deity to whom all nations bow. M.

Walsh's Northern Trip A Great Success

I failed to send in a report of my trip in time for publication last week, so will get it in for this issue. I find that the comrades over the state are deeply interested in reading the reports of the speakers over the state. In fact, there seems to be a great growing interest among the workmen as to what is being done at headquar-

ters and in the propaganda and organization field.

Belt was the first place at which I gave the illustrated lecture and the meeting was a complete success. Although there is no organization there, Dan Sullivan, who takes the lead with the assistance of a few other comrades, pushes things right along. The admission receipts were \$16, which nearly covered all expenses. The comrades are organizing to get organized in the near future. As a matter of fact the next speaker that goes there should remain a couple of days, and I think will have no trouble in perfecting an organization. I sold a few subs to the News and some literature and left five sub cards with a comrade.

Kubley was next on the route. This place is a postoffice only, in a farming community. The hall was full of anxious listeners. The meeting lasted until 11:30 in answering questions. This place should never be overlooked by future speakers. Oscar English is an active worker at this place, and he is sure "there with the goods." I failed to sell any subs to the News, as the cheap price of Wilshire's and the Appeal cuts out all other papers at present. I sold quite a little literature. The receipts at the door for admissions were \$16.85.

Monarch was next in rotation and the house was filled. At this point there is an everlasting campaign in the person of J. M. Rector, assisted by Comrade Mason. In fact, this particular locality has been better and more thoroughly propagated than any other place in the state. Comrade Rector has a large circulating library of Socialist literature and he furnishes every farmer and worker in the country with the best of reading matter. The result is evident and the vote of last fall shows the returns of his efforts, as the Socialists carried the precinct. Here I sold a few subs and quite a little literature. The door receipts were \$17.80.

Great Falls was next and it was necessary to soap box the first night. A large crowd was present and the best of interest and attention was witnessed, which shows the great change of sentiment. I sold eight subscriptions to the Montana News and quite a little literature. The collection was small, being only \$3.80. The second night I spoke on the street, but used the stereopticon and gave my illustrated lecture. A large crowd was out. Sold a few more subs, a little literature and took up a collection of \$6.10. The comrades of this place state that Socialism is growing, but that their sleepy condition is due to the lack of hustlers in the movement. However, I found several hustlers. Comrades Doyle and Hull are certainly two of the workers.

Benton, an unorganized place and a republican stronghold, was next, and to say the least, this place was a great surprise to me. Comrade Hagen was the only Socialist known there before my arrival. He, with the assistance of Comrade Shelby, managed the meeting and made it a howling success. The receipts at the door were \$32.50. I sold eight sub cards and some literature. Seven Socialist votes were cast here last fall, but only one was counted. A local was organized, with five charter members to start with. This makes the second local in Choteau county. Comrade Hagen is a German Socialist from across the pond. He says that his grandfather was a Socialist and served many terms in jail for being one. His father was also a Socialist, and also underwent the usual persecution for his advocacy of these ideas.

Have was the next place, and the comrades had sure done their part to make the meeting a great success. The work was all well handled. Even the comrades' little girls and boys were busy in the afternoon distributing "tonight" bills and selling tickets. The opera house was full, as will be attested by the receipts, they being near the \$70 mark. I sold a few subs but very little literature. The organization has been rather scattered here and the comrades are away behind in their dues. However, they expect to meet again soon and get things all straightened up and begin to assist headquarters and push the work in their locality. The Ryan

Refuse Food Given to Poor

In selecting the material for the best grades of canned fruits it is necessary for the employes to remove the peels and cores of the various fruits, and also the decomposed and worm eaten spots. These peels and cores and worm-eaten spots—worms included—together with all the spoiled parts of apples, pears, peaches and every other kind of fruit, are dumped together and made into a general pulp. From this pulp made of the refuse of all kinds of fruits, is turned out a marvelous variety of different brands of highly colored and tempting looking bottled and canned goods. From this same pulp conglomeration is made "pure apple jelly," "pure currant jelly," alleged plum and quince jellies and jams, apple butter and no end of different kinds of preserves and pie materials. It makes little difference as to the appearance and taste of the pulp or principal ingredient. The flavorings and chemicals will make up for all former deficiencies in appearance or lack of resemblance to the fruit it is supposed to represent.

I mention fruits by way of illustration; the same conditions are true in the manufacture of foods of all other classes. The residue is always made into marketable adulterations, if not by the factory that turns out high class brands, then by an associate factory given another name for the purpose of protecting the name of the actual manufacturer. Some of the big packing houses collaborate with lower grade houses, supposedly run by other firms, that utilize all the stock rejected by the big firms, and market all inferior products cast off by the firms that are so cautious of their reputation. Wornout horses and mules, and those crippled or otherwise injured so as to incapacitate them for service as beasts of burden, have been butchered and the meats served in restaurants and on free lunch counters as roast beef, corned beef, beef stew, etc. Hoofs of horses and cattle are used not alone for the manufacture of glues and mucilage, but often for making a viscous substance which, it is claimed, is used in the manufacture of the lower grades of

gelatines and jellies. An enormous amount of cheap jelly is made in Chicago from soused pigs' feet and other meats, glucose and fruit refuse chemically treated and given names of different fruits. Dr. Leon S. Waters, expert in food chemistry, recently said that hogs' livers were dried, baked, powdered and mixed with chicory and coffee essence and sold as ground coffee.

But even the residue of the factories is not sufficient to appease the seeming hunger for the lower grade foods. It is a fact that pickups from the city streets, the castoff products from big commission houses, and the gleanings from the sewers are often employed in produce manufacture under America's remarkable system of "Commercial economy." Even seaweed is brought into use to supply the demand. From sea moss is made a gelatinous substance known as aga-aga. Mixed with a small amount of pulp from cast away fruit, a little starch and gelatine, it is dyed and flavored to resemble different kinds of fruit products, and is labeled strawberry, cranberry, raspberry, apple, quince, etc. Old bones from alleys are ground into dust, which is utilized principally as a fertilizer, but sometimes is mixed with flour. It has been claimed that leather from old boots and shoes gathered from the streets and scrap piles are chemically treated, mixed with chicory, ground and made into a clever imitation of coffee, the kind usually drunk by sailors and workmen in logging camps. More and more is it becoming so that nearly everything thrown into the streets and alleys of American cities is turned into foods.

Foods made from this loathsome trash are, of course, not conducive to longevity, nor healthful constitutions; but the danger is not so much in these as in the ingredients used in giving them the appearance of legitimate goods. Such powerful sweets as saccharine, possessing three hundred times the sweetening strength of sugar, glucose and potent chemicals and colorings are employed in making these adulterations possible and exceedingly profitable.

brothers, Comrades Swanson and Dyer, and several others are among the hustlers.

Glasgow, which is 153 miles east of Havre, was next on the route for the illustrated lecture. This place has never been organized, and it was due to the efforts of Comrade H. U. Coster that the meeting was a success. Here I sold some dozen subscriptions to the News and all the literature I had with me. Comrade Coster has campaigned this place like Comrade Rector at Monarch has. In fact, he has made nearly all these railroad men Socialists. This is a railroad town, barring a few parasites. The opera house was full, as the receipts of \$39.25 show. The second night I spoke on the street to a large crowd of workers. The collection was small, only \$3.22, but it was at this meeting that I disposed of all my literature, and telegraphed the state secretary for more, to be used on my soap boxing west again from here. This place is the last point east on the Great Northern in the state to be campaigned, but it must never be overlooked in the future. We will organize a Socialist local here this afternoon at the home of Comrade Coster. This place paid all expenses and left \$14.75 to be turned to the new local organization, which speaks well for the movement when you consider that it is the first time that a Socialist speaker has ever been here. Comrade Coster spent \$80 in the past year for Socialist seed among the people here, and the returns are evident. This place concluded my lecture

dates with the stereopticon and tomorrow, the first of August, I will start west, soapboxing the small places and soliciting for the News and selling Socialist literature. At every place that I have been, the comrades are awaiting the next speaker, and I have advertised the coming of Comrade D. Burgess and Comrade Ida Crouch-Hazlett. This part of my trip has been a great success, and the wonderful growth and interest taken in our movement is wonderful. One cannot comprehend it until he meets the workers in these different places.

J. H. WALSH.

Telegraphers Are Out

Telegraph operators on the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railways from St. Paul to Portland quit their keys last night in response to an order from President Perham, of the Order of Railway Telegraphers.

Early in the day General Manager Horn of the Northern Pacific, issued an ultimatum to the telegraphers in the employ of the road, telling them they must withdraw demands recently made on the company or quit.

The response came in the evening when President Perham issued his strike order.

The first effects in Helena were about ten o'clock, when the 16 operators in the relay office here, two wire chiefs and two operators at the yards quit. Simultaneously the operators quit at East Helena and all along the line of the road in Montana and west to the sound.

THE MONTANA NEWS.

ISSUED WEEKLY.

J. H. WALSH Editor and
Publisher

OFFICE 22 PARK AVE. P. O. BOX 908

Entered at the Post Office for transmission
through the mail at second class rates.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertising Rates made known upon applica-
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Money is needed at this end of the gun.

The working class is not asking aid or charity, they are asking justice.

Under Socialism the middle class will become workers for expropriation will cease.

When you workers learn to vote together you will secure a job for the bourgeois.

Good reports come from the speakers in the Montana field. Keep pushing! That is all that is necessary.

If you get a copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Don't let us have to invite you over a thousand times.

Socialism means the abolition of the wage system, and the giving to every toiler the full produce of his labor. Who can deny the justice of such a claim.

Too bad about Teddy-the-tutor, objecting to the use of his picture on a western advertising scheme. They should have had the picture of the old pet bear also.

There is a growing knowledge in the ranks of the workers as to the necessity of education. The past few years has been given up solely to propaganda, but now the workers are learning the necessity of organization as well as education.

Socialism only declares that those who work either by brains or brawn shall have all they produce. Is this not just? If you make ten pairs of shoes a day, how many of those shoes should you have? Any honest person would say immediately that you should have all the shoes you make. But under the present system you receive less than one pair. Every other trade or calling would be practically the same.

J. H. Walsh who was the candidate for congress last fall on the Socialist ticket, gave an illustrated lecture at the Miners' Union hall last Friday evening. The hall was well filled and the audience seemed to thoroughly enjoy the entertainment. As Mr. Walsh loves to draw sharp comparisons relating to the theory he advocates. His entertainment mainly consisted of moving pictures of scenes from the lives of the abjectly poor and the multi-millionaires. He went from here to Kibby and Monarch, at both places giving an entertainment.—Belt Valley Times.

It will soon be a year ago, comrades, since we started to sell press shares to raise sufficient money to get a paper press of our own. Only 19 of these shares have as yet been sold. According to that you Socialists are not very deeply interested whether we have a Socialist paper in the state of Montana or not. The proposition was to sell press shares at \$10 each. As soon as enough were sold to buy the press, install it, and then begin to pay the shares off as fast as possible. They are numbered consecutively and will be paid off

in the same manner. Comrades let us sell these press shares. You get your ten dollars back. You are out nothing but the interest. But why let this deal drag so long? Will you take a share at once? Let us hear from you. They must be sold. It is necessary that we own our press then this plant will be complete. Will you help out? Take a share.

THE FUTURE CAMPAIGN

The future campaign is drawing closer every day, and as it draws closer we see the workers everywhere aligning with the Socialist movement in countless numbers. Never before in the history of the movement in the state of Montana has there been such an awakening of the working class as at the present. And with this awakening we find a wonderful solid growth of the true class conscious idea.

For some time past, many who have been interested in the philosophy of Socialism, have been of the belief that nothing was necessary except to make Socialists, but now, the rank and file is awakening to the fact that something more is necessary. That organization must go hand in hand with education. From this new thought organization is springing, and in a few months hence nearly every county in the state will be organized.

At the last election over 5,000 votes were polled and counted for Socialism in Montana, and it is very probable that had all the votes cast for the working class ticket been honestly counted our total state vote would have far exceeded the 5,000 mark. Since that election our recruits have come by the hundreds, and probably were a vote to be taken today we would find that they would double the amount above mentioned. This persistent work continued until the coming campaign arrives, which will be on in full swing in a year from now, will mean a large vote for Socialism in 1906.

The future campaign, which will be fought next year, should result in a dead-lock in the state legislature, and as a result the prevention of the election of another multimillionaire to the United States senate from the state of Montana. It is hardly possible that the workers will be sufficiently educated by that time to capture all the political positions in sight, but they can secure a working minority in the next legislature.

With W. A. Clark in the race for re-election to the senate, and being backed by the Amalgamated, the old party campaign will resolve itself into a boodle campaign. The only party standing for the working class and opposed to this boodle proposition will be the Socialist party. Therefore, to accomplish the desired results it is necessary to ever push into the unorganized territory and thereby get the workers in line for the coming political fray.

The great influx to the Socialist ranks at present is coming from the railroad men and farmers. As the farmers control about 40 per cent of the votes, their advent into the new organization is heralded with delight. In connection with this new blood that is coming to the movement, there seems to be that general understanding among the workers of the necessity of a strong organization.

Let the good work go on. Let the workers stand shoulder to shoulder in this great fight to abolish the present wage system and soon the great question of strife and profit will be eliminated from the body politic.

The future campaign is promising from a Socialist point of view, and with your continued co-operative efforts, comrades, the dead-lock in the next legislature, which means a terrible blow to capitalism, is probable. Why should the workers elect any more Carters or Clarks? They have never done anything for the working class in the United States senate, and if they were left there a thousand years would do no more. Let the workers unite. Push into the new field, and the victory shall be ours.

Well Senator Mitchell of Oregon is to be fined \$1,000 and serve six months in jail for his crooked work in the government land frauds. While this is a light penalty, it possibly is sufficient. It is only an instance of the outgrowth of the present profit system. The incident serves as an education to the people. It is too bad to think that we foster a government that offers these temp-

ations and send old gray-headed men to prison. Socialism will change this condition and make it impossible for men like Mr. Mitchell to graft from the people and in his declining days languish behind prison bars as a reward for having done what thousands of others in high life are continually doing. At the advanced age of the convicted man, six months in prison means years and will probably be the cause of his death, so the sentence results practically in hanging. Mr. Mitchell, however is receiving the fruits of his past labors; he has kindled the fires that burned him. He has supported a system that places thieves in the United States official positions with honor. The same system, although no greater thief, disgraces him in the county jail. Another point, is the fact that thousands of others are as big thieves as he. Will they be brought to a reckoning? Is it necessary to go outside of the borders of Montana to find another land and timber thief in the United States senate? Let the work of education go on. The above events are only illustrations in our daily lessons and assist greatly in the education of the masses to the Socialist cause.

The twenty-four richest men in the world have been listed, with John D. Rockefeller at the top with \$600,000,000, and Alphonse Heine of Paris at the bottom with \$75,000,000.

It is interesting to note that of this classification, six reside in New York, none of whom have less than \$100,000,000. London has but three of these money kings, and all England but four.

Canada has three and the United States nine, and, in this latter classification Senator W. A. Clark of Butte, Montana, and Hetty Green of Bellows, Falls, Vermont, and Marshall Field of Chicago, are each credited with \$100,000,000.

Mexico has a millionaire worth nearly \$300,000,000, and Lord Iveagh of Dublin worries along with \$110,000,000. Prince Demidoff of St. Petersburg has one-fifth of the fortune of a billionaire. Chili, Austria and France each claim millionaires in the \$75,000,000, among whom is an archbishop with the suggestive name of Conn. Australia is high on the list with Sir Jervoise Clarke and his \$150,000,000.

Senator W. A. Clark of Butte, Montana, is rated the seventeenth richest man in the world. Mr. Rockefeller's wealth has been estimated at anything from these figures to \$1,000,000,000. This rating is an estimate made by one of New York's leading financiers.

The wealth of the Rothschilds Vanderbilts, Goulds and Astors usually is quoted as though those great estates were undivided, the twenty families of the Rothschilds being given as \$650,000,000; of the fourteen Vanderbilt families as \$450,000,000; of the five Gould families as \$150,000,000, and of the Astors as \$150,000,000.—Ex.

A call to college men and women to study Socialism in the colleges and universities has been sent out by a number of men and women prominent in literary and sociological circles. These people have organized themselves into a society for the promotion of this study, not, it appears, with the idea that they altogether approve of the Socialistic plans in toto; but rather that its study will help to solve some of the problems which are pressing on the American people.

Those who have issued the call with their name attached are: J. G. Phelps Stokes, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Oscar Lowell Triggs, Clarence S. Darrow, B. O. Flower, William English Walling, Leonard D. Abbot, Jack London, and Upton Sinclair. The call says:

"In the option of the undersigned, the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote of America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.

"The undersigned, regarding its aims and fundamental principles with sympathy and believing that in them will ultimately be found a remedy for many far-reaching economic evils propose organizing an association,

to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities and the encouragement of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women in the country."—Great Falls Tribune.

Well, soon the commercial adjusters of the Russian-Japanese war will be negotiating in this country for a cessation of hostilities. Every effort is being made to care for these men in the best manner. They will meet in some cool place, summer resort, or some where, that they may not suffer from the heat. However, while they are sparring on the intellectual plane, the poor worker in the file of the Russian or Japanese armies may be forced to do a little butchering stunt now and then. How about securing a summer resort for these soldiers to fight in if we are to have war? If we can secure nice cool places for the adjusters of the war, why not secure the same for the fellow in the ranks who does the fighting? You working mules might compare your condition with theirs and then demand of these "big fellows" a change of positions. In fact had these "adjusters of murder and greed in behalf of commercialism," ever seen or been in the front ranks of the line of battle, they would be in a better position to settle the question from the standpoint of the Brotherhood of man, in place, as will be the case, from a commercial standpoint.

A dispatch from Kansas says: Eight prominent temperance women smashed a joint at Industry, owned by John Peterson. With hatchets they broke open a barrel of whisky and several cases of beer. Six men were in the joint drinking. The women wrecked the joint completely. Peterson has left for his home in Junction City.

The intentions of the women may be good, but their basis of operation is faulty and illogical. The Socialists have the only solution for the saloon question. Take the profit out of the business and it will regulate itself. But so long as there is eight cents profit in a ten cent drink of booze, hatchets won't smash that kind of a business.

Old Felt Hats.
In the course of a case at Lambert county court, London, it was in evidence that old hard felt hats, which were valueless up to a few months ago, could now be sold for \$35 a ton, and the market was rising. The hats are burned to get the shellac, which is worth 50 cents a pound.

OURS, NOT MINE.
A Simple Plan That Might Prevent Many Home Tragedies.

"It is mine!"
"I tell you, you are mistaken; it is mine!"
Divorce court.

Which is a terse way of putting the sad history of many a marriage disagreement over the things mine and thine and the domestic misery that follows.

The way to settle such a disagreement is for both parties to say, "It is ours."
Because of the struggle for mine and thine the records of history are rolled in blood, nations have fallen, barriers of hatred have been raised, brother has fought brother. Envy, dissension and division have come because men have contended for that which is not theirs, but "ours."

Organized selfishness in our day has manifested itself in the great corporation spiders that have spread their webs far and wide, controlling the avenues of approach, watching for victims with their many faceted eyes, gathering to themselves what is not theirs, but "ours."

The world is ours.
Sky and earth—ours.
Sunshine and shade—ours.
Flowers and birds—ours.
Fruits and fertile fields—ours.
And the Master of us all taught us to pray, "Our Father."
Ladies and gentlemen, everywhere is needed this doctrine of "ours"—in the family, city, state, nation, world.
The solution of all earth's problems is wrapped up in the one saying: "Everything is ours."—Milwaukee Journal.



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Leave 8:45 a. m.	Lombard	Arrive 3:45 p. m.	
Leave 11:40 a. m.	Dorsey	Arrive 1:10 p. m.	
Arrive 11:55 a. m.	Summit	Leave 12:50 p. m.	
Leave 12:26 p. m.	Summit	Arrive 12:25 p. m.	
Leave 12:55 p. m.	Lennep	Arrive 11:40 a. m.	
Leave 1:25 p. m.	Martinsdale	Arrive 11:10 a. m.	
Leave 2:00 p. m.	Twodot	Arrive 10:35 a. m.	
Leave 2:40 p. m.	Harlowtown	Arrive 9:57 a. m.	
Leave 4:00 p. m.	Garneill	Arrive 8:35 a. m.	
Leave 5:00 p. m.	Moore	Arrive 7:50 a. m.	
Arrive 6:00 p. m.	Lewistown	Leave 7:00 a. m.	

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HELENA, MONT.

Correspondence

Stevensville, Mont., July 27, 1905.
J. H. Walsh, Editor Montana News:

Dear Comrade:—We are having a nice shower and it will be a good time for me to do my kicking—my friends say that this is my failing. But, comrades, I do not think the quorum (with all respect) made a mistake in not accepting the challenge of John B. Barnhill, or any other kind of a hill. Just think, comrades, how it would help Socialism for Comrade Hazlett to level him off, if she could get a few swipes at him. He wouldn't feel as large as a mole hill after a heavy rain. Why, America's two greatest debaters, Bryan and Cochran, would not meet Comrade Wilshire when he tried to get either of them to meet him in debate. Can not the quorum reconsider it. As well as I would love to hear Comrade H. again (and I have heard her four times), I would forego the pleasure and put up with some other soap box, just to know that she was leveling off the knobs. And I feel sure I express the sentiment of every comrade in Ravalli county. Think, comrades, of the good it would be to Socialism to have a shorthand writer take it down. What fine reading it would be and published in book form it would be sure to have a big sale. Let every comrade speak up. There is no whip over us for speaking, you know. Then why not let the larger cities in the state speak up. It would be a crowd getter sure.

Enclosed find \$1.50; also the names of three victims for one year to the News. They cost me a day, but can't every comrade do as well for the cause. I, for one, think that it is the duty of every Socialist in Montana to do what he can for our paper. I intend to do some more talking as soon as

harvesting is over, if not before. If every subscriber will just send in three new names what a great help to the cause.

What say you, comrades, are you all in on it? And then don't stop, but let us make the fat man at the helm catch his breath for once. We cannot well do without a Socialist paper in Montana, and editors are very much like white men in this way, they can't work long on wind pudding, or publish a paper without paper and ink.

Many of us are busy these hot days, but harvesting won't last long; neither will the hot weather. Yours for the earth and the fullness thereof.

J. WORTH GOODSON.

Kendall, Mont., July 24, 1905.

Editor Montana News:—The achievement of any great purpose requires organization. Practically everybody admits this. The emancipation of the working class is a mighty task. To achieve this task we must organize. Many people seem to think that organization is the end, and so such people rest in sweet contentment as soon as they have signed the Socialist pledge, paid dues and selected the officers of the local. All this is merely preliminary to the real work of organization. As soon as officers are selected, every other member of the local should be assigned some task, and at every subsequent meeting his work should be reviewed. If he has not capacity for doing the work assigned, give him other work and help him to accomplish it. We must be as well drilled and as thoroughly disciplined as any army. As soon as one displays ability to achieve results, enlarge his sphere of action. There must be no drones in a Socialist local. Study the capacity of each and give to each such tasks as they have some adaptability for. Have patience and urge every one to persevere. Possibly, repeated effort may develop great ability where none was supposed to exist. Do not overrate the mere ability to talk. Some people can talk and talk, but they do not know enough to cease to talk when they are done. Talk has its uses, but it must be talk to the point, and even this talk has its limitations. The Social Revolution will not come on "hot air." It is anchored to the earth, and we must develop sound judgment and the ability to express such judgment with precision. The Socialists are not to win by going on a picnic and listening to a few set speeches. We have work, serious work to do, and besides, we must train people to do this work with accuracy, do it in such a way that there need be no repetition of any given task.

To accomplish our work we must prepare for it. We must drill; we must have rigid party discipline. Haphazard methods are of the past. We must know

just what we want, and we must devise definite means of achieving our purposes. This can come through discipline. It cannot come in any other way. Are you ready to engage in this tremendous task? Will you ever acquire the needed training and ability by irresolution and inaction? Our enemy is alert, active, vigilant, aggressive. Can we hope to meet these qualities by dozing? One of the most powerful and effective engines which we can ever use is the party press, and only such papers as deal with the aims and purposes of organization, and with methods of organization as are of present value to us.

Let us rally to the support of that portion of the press which will use its power and influence to secure a strong, coherent and aggressive organization, for such an organization is the basis of all efficient activities.

D. BURGESS.

Ovando, Mont., July 22 1905

Editor Montana News, Helena Mont
Comrade Walsh:—Enclosed place find (50) cents fifty cents to pay for one year subscription to the Montana News for Gottlieb Brunner Ovando, Mont. Yours for Socialism.

CHAS. C. DOWNHOUR.

P. S. Is it all right for me to continue sending in subscriptions at fifty cents a year? I would like 1½ dozens "Socialism Made Plain," by Allen Benson. I see by the book it is marked (10) cents at Milwaukee. Will you furnish them for the same or can you? Can women join the local? Prospects are getting brighter.

C. C. D.

[You can continue to send in the new names at 50 cents until we announce in the columns of the News to do different. However, always impress upon the comrades that the price of subscription is \$1.00, and that the 50 cents applies only to new subscribers. We have made you the 10 cent rate on 18 copies of "Socialism Made Plain" by Allen L. Benson. On single copies it is necessary for us to charge 15 cents to cover extra postage, but in dozen bunches and more we make the ten cent rate. Women are as eligible to join the local as men, and by all means try and get them into the organization. —Editor.]

Socialist News From State Headquarters

Local Lewistown has reorganized.
A local with five charter members

has been organized by Comrade Walsh at Fort Benton.

J. H. Walsh reports having very successful meetings everywhere he has spoken within the past two weeks.

D. Burgess will work for one week in Lewis and Clarke county. The following dates have been made: Winston, (unorganized) July 31; East Helena, (unorganized) Aug. 1; Marysville, (unorganized) Aug. 2 and 3. Helena, Aug. 4.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett will be at Cokedale, (unorganized) Aug. 1; Clyde Park, (unorganized) Aug. 2 and 3. Livingston Aug. 4 and 5. Cokedale, Aug. 6; Fridley Aug. 7; Electric, (unorganized) Aug. 8; (afternoon). Aldridge, Aug. 8; (night). Jardine, (unorganized) Aug. 9; Gardiner Aug. 10; Chico, Aug. 11.

J. H. Walsh will hold open air meetings at Malta, (unorganized) Aug. 1 and 2. Chinook, (unorganized) Aug. 3 and 4. Havre, Aug. 5.

John Basil Barnhill cannot debate with Comrade Hazlett in Montana before two or three months at least. He expects the Socialists to pay expenses and give him a reasonable share of the gate receipts.

The summer campaign so far has been very successful, as will be seen by the weekly reports, a large number of unorganized places have been visited and the collections at most of the unorganized places have paid all expenses including wages of speakers.

This work should be kept up as good results have been obtained and greater yet will be obtained. The only regret is, that the western part of the state has not had a speaker so far this summer.

It was our intention to put another speaker in the field August 1, to work in the western counties but as receipts for July have been smaller than we anticipated, we are unable to add another speaker at present. This is to be regretted as there is a large amount of work to be done. Flathead, Missoula, Ravalli and Sanders counties could easily keep a speaker at work from now until the first of October, with very little cost to the locals or state. The seasons of the county fairs will soon be here and that is the time when our speakers can get large audiences and large sales of literature. Let us not miss this opportunity. Should the receipts in dues and donations within the next two weeks be anyway encouraging another speaker will be added to the present corps of organizers now at work.

Go after the members who are in arrears. Get them to pay up. If all pay up it will mean \$90 in the treasury. Comrades do not let the work lag, we have only fairly begun.

JAS. D. GRAHAM,

Priest's Attack On Socialism

Here are some councils from a catholic bishop on the current aspects of the industrial problem. Bishop Stang of Fall River has just published, through Benziger Bros., New York, a volume entitled "Socialism and Christianity," (price \$1). Our extracts are from Chapter IV. of this book:

The essence of Socialism is contained in the declaration that man is good by nature, and is sufficient for himself. Our good lies in the natural order. Ignorance and defective environment have led man into the present social evils. To bring him out of this state of misery, two "infallible" means are proposed: universal and free instruction of both sexes, and the placing of man in a communistic state of life where he will be on a social equality with others.

The Gospel of Christ tells us to resist nature, to curb its vicious inclinations, to look for perfect peace and happiness in the world to come: Socialism teaches us to follow nature, to satisfy all its desires and to seek real happiness in the enjoyment of this life. While promising liberty and equality, it enslaves man to his corrupted nature and makes him the machine of the state.

But not all that is put to the credit of Socialists should be termed Socialism. There is a deal of solid good in our modern inspirations for the uplifting of the laboring classes; we must separate the wheat from the chaff, and encourage every popular movement which makes for the diffusion of wealth and physical comfort. A brief discussion of the principal questions with which Socialism deals in its efforts of reform will aid us to get a clear concept of the catholic view of Socialism.

The question of state and municipal ownership has engaged the attention of the public for several years, and the number of its votaries appears to be growing steadily. To believe in public ownership is not to side with the Socialists; for public ownership differs from real Socialism in its aim and end, and in the means it proposes to reach the end. The agitation of public ownership does not seek the upheaval of society or the fall of the government; it merely advocates the enlargement of government power and duty.

The state is expected to assume the ownership and control of gas, electric light, water, street cars, railroads, telegraph wires and forests. As these are questions of a purely economic nature, a catholic cannot pronounce on them with dogmatic precision, but he ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the theories as to show himself an intelligent adherent or opponent of the system in question.

The state should not only protect private ownership as something sacred and inviolable, but its policy should be to induce as many people as possible to become owners.

By favoring the multiplication of property-holders, the state would effectively contribute to a more equitable division of property, a division so sorely needed in these days when the gulf between immense wealth and abject poverty is daily widening. The workingman should be encouraged to acquire land and put up his own home on it. A man will take more interest in land which is his own than in property which belongs to another. He will anxiously cultivate the ground he owns until it yields him an abundance of good things that foster his health and rejoice his heart. He will cling to the spot and make it his home, dearer to him than foreign lands and gilded palaces. The possessor of the poorest cabin will not change it for the dreams of the Socialistic paradise.

The best way to promote social prosperity is to multiply opportunities; for opportunities serve as incentives to labor.

It is right to check deceit and cruel exploitation, but it is wrong to deprive talent and energy of the incentive to action and its natural reward.

The present industrial system has its drawbacks like every other human institution, but it has its great advantages. Private enterprise has more initiative and adaptability than large concerns could offer. Individual capitalists are more economical and more enterprising managers than public boards or state officials.

Their keenly interested eyes and ears are ever on the watch for opportunities, for improvements, for new openings; and having to consult nothing but their own judgement, they are much quicker in adapting themselves to situations and taking advantage of turns of trade. They will undertake risks that a board would not agree to and they will have entered the field and established a footing long before a manager can get his directors to stir a finger.

The workingman is now in a better condition than he has been for three hundred years, or rather since the days of the unfortunate reformation. He is better fed and clad; his wages have risen in amount and purchasing power; his hours of labor have become fewer; he is able to enter unions and strike for higher wages, and has every prospect before him; of further and substantial improvement. The poor have certainly not grown poorer in the last fifty years. But we may ask the practical question: Have wages increased in proportion to our national wealth? In some branches of work, it seems, labor receives its adequate portion, but in others, labor does not receive its fair share of the product. The capitalist should learn that higher wages tend to develop skilful labor. The workingman is put on his mettle to throw all resources into action. Inadequate remuneration prevents the development of personal efficiency, by drying up the resources of hopefulness and cheerfulness in the workingman's heart. Mr. Rae says: "The intelligent workman takes less time to learn his trade, needs less superintendence at his work, and is less wasteful of materials; and the cheerful workman, besides these merits, expends more energy with less exhaustion. But men can have no hope in their work while they live purely from hand to mouth, and you cannot spread habits of intelligence among the laboring class if their means are too poor or their leisure too short to enable them to participate in the culture that is going on around them."

The employer should remember that justice and charity are the great factors of prosperity and progress. He has no right to say to the workingman: "I can give whatever wages I please; if you are not satisfied with what I offer, you may seek employment elsewhere."

We believe with John Mitchell that "Every man should have enough to keep his family, educate his children and lay a little aside for the future. Six hundred dollars a year is the least that should be paid the unskilled common laborer. As the class of labor rises the man should receive more, and the pay should vary according to his location. The ordinary man should have more than six hundred dollars a year in New York or Chicago. Every man should have enough to supply the necessities of life, and in the latter cities the necessities cost more.

"I think every man should have a house with at least six rooms. He should have a bathroom, a parlor a dining-room, kitchen and enough bedrooms for decency and comfort. He should have carpets, pictures, books, and sufficient furniture to make his home bright and comfortable. He should have good food and should keep his children in

(Continued on page 4)

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Priest's Attack on Socialism
(Continued from page 3)

school, and at the same time should be able to lay away something for old age and sickness. The unskilled workman might have these things for six hundred dollars a year in cities of from 5,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, but in larger places he needs more. This is only for the common laborer. As the skill of man rises, his wages increase and his necessities grow."

Men rave occasionally about capitalists making enormous gains. Do they ever reflect on their losses? Millions are sunk in new enterprises; and if the experiment proves a failure, who sustains the loss? Those who put up the factory, all the different mechanics, and all who worked on it, received their wages; all the money was expended in labor. We all, undoubtedly, have been witnesses of the failure of large business firms that had given employment to many for years, and had made families comfortable and even prosperous. The management of the concern was taken out of their hands and those who furnished the big capital and had given bread and butter to so many workmen, were left penniless.

He who foments strife and discord between capitalist and workingman is doing harm to both, but injures more seriously the chances of the latter. There are wicked men on both sides, and consequently there shall always be a chasm between the crowd of loafers, criminals, and jailbirds—and the heartless rich; but there never should be any antagonism between the wealthy employers and the steady, thrifty laborers.

One kind of strike, called the sympathetic strike, is fortunately losing in popular favor. It should be universally discouraged; the press should be unwearied in denouncing it and in exposing its unjust and ridiculous demands. In last years great coal strike John Mitchell told his hearers that he had never known a sympathetic strike to succeed. As a rule, trade-unions oppose sympathetic strikes—in fact any strike which can be averted. Strikes should be prevented; or, if called, should be speedily settled by voluntary tribunals of arbitration, composed of employers and employed, in their respective unions.

It would be unjust to condemn strikes indiscriminately. If a strike breaks out in our neighborhood it may be our duty to council law and order, but it would be imprudent to oppose the strike because it upsets things and causes us a lot of inconvenience and trouble. Personal comfort must give way to public welfare. And after all it is the people who consider the strike a necessary means to shorten the hours of hard labor or to increase their insufficient wages.

A strike has been fitly called a double-edged sword; it wounds the workingman and the employer. It goes even further; it hurts an entirely innocent party—the public—whose general interests are seriously affected by a paralysis of labor and trade, while at the same time it sometimes gives occasion to public violence and disorder.

Every effort made to bring employer and employed together, and to let them both see their real interests in the common cause, is a move in the right direction, and helps to abate the unnecessary antagonism now existing between rich and poor.

A mutual acquaintance with each other's duties and struggles softens asperity of feeling on both sides. The employer learns of the hardships and trials of the workingman's life while the latter finds out that the rich are not always bedded on roses but that wealth imposes slave-driving exactions on its possessors.

One good result of unionism, already evident, is to remove the feeling of insecurity in the workingman's condition. "Trade-unions," Rae says, "have taken away the shadow of despondency that hung over the hired laborer's lot." Trade-unions are here to stay. Employers will not get rid of them by ignoring them or treating them with ridicule and contempt. Unionism has to be recognized and respected. Employers have to deal, not with a theory merely, but with a stubborn fact. It will be suicidal to cling to the old insane rule: "My business is my own nobody shall dictate to me; I am independent of any man." Employers will have to come to terms with organized labor. It is to their own interest to work harmoniously with union men, to make them feel they are a part of the concern, and not a hostile element in it. The employer should not be the sole dictator of his business; he should divide his authority with his employees; he should take the men into a practical partnership; he should discuss with them, in a friendly way, conditions, hours and wages. He cannot say with justice, far less with charity; "Take this work at such a price or leave." Men are implicitly encouraged to marry, to buy land, to settle down, to build homes near their place of work. It would be hard to break up their homes, sacrifice their earnings and leave, because the manager agrees with the sentiment that the public has no claim on him which he must respect.

The immortal Leo XIII. warned parents, guardians and employers against child labor. It is cruel to place children in workshops and factories before their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. An indolent father or a greedy mother should meet with severe punishment for oblidging little children to earn money for the household; employers who admit such children for work are equally guilty. A Christian should use every influence within his reach to prevent such cruelty to children, whose bodies are crippled and whose minds are dulled by labor unfitted to their age.

Similar harm is done to women. The criminal conduct of so many mothers even, who are permitted to live outside of jail and state prison, drive women into work in factories and workshops which is often not suited to their physical and moral constitution. We have only to look at so many women in our mill-towns and see their pale, pinched and careworn faces, exhausted from excessive work, half dead from the whir and buzz of machinery, haunted by the spectre of consumption—and we shall easily realize how many poor women are dying of slow martyrdom caused by unnatural work. were it not for the christian religion that brings the sunshine of hope and confidence into the dreary lives of these women, many of them would turn maniacs. Indeed, if we had the right sort of men leading in civil and domestic circles, women would not be allowed to slave in work which men only should perform.

At any rate, married women should

not be permitted—a case of extreme necessity excepted—to work in factories. A married woman has entered into a solemn contract with man, before God, to fulfill her duties as wife, mother and housekeeper. This contract cannot be broken, even with her own consent. The law of nature requires that a mother give her whole care to her children and her home. To violate this law would mean to ruin home-life and thus to sap the foundation of society. It happens in parishes composed of factory people that young women after entering wedlock continue to work in the mill. Such a custom is extremely demoralizing and injurious to the christian home. The priest should make every effort to keep married woman at their proper place at work. Leo XIII. sums it up briefly: "A woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted to preserve her modesty, and to promote the good bringing up of children, and the well-being of the family."

Every Socialist should read the Montana News and pay for it besides.

There are one hundred unorganized places in this state. It will take some money and work to land them in the organized column.

Are you doing your share in assisting in getting organizers into the unworked fields? There are a number of counties that a speaker should be sent into at once.

Why not take up a collection at your next local meeting and send the chunk to the state secretary to assist in sending a speaker into some new field where Socialism has not been heard from a soapboxer.

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PROGRESS OF LABOR

IMPROVED CONDITIONS DUE TO WORKERS THEMSELVES.

Joining a Trades Union Costs the Craftsman None of His Individuality—Why Organization is Essential to the Toiler.

In an address recently delivered at Dayton, O., Samuel Gompers said in part:

The labor movement, the trades union movement, is not a pessimistic movement. The very fact that we organize, the very fact that we federate, are in themselves the best evidence that we have not lost hope. The trades unionists are not unmindful of the progress that has been made. We are proud of it. We readily agree that the condition of the working people today is far better than that which surrounded and confronted the working people in what are known as the good old times.

The improvement in the condition of the working people of our country, however, is not the result of any kindly philanthropy, not a matter of sympathy, not given to us nor brought to us upon a silver platter. The improvements that have come in the condition of the working people of our country are due entirely to the united, associated efforts of the working people themselves.

We are not unmindful of the progress that we have made, but understand that the conditions as they now obtain are not those that commend themselves to our sense of justice and right. We maintain that the whole wealth of this country, the great production of which is the result of human labor, has no right to be utilized to the detriment of the masses of the people. Labor makes this claim upon modern society—that it wants more of the product of this wealth. To tell us that we have more than our forefathers had is not satisfying at all. And if I read the signs of the times aright, the working people of our country are going to get more as the results of their labor.

We are told, of course, that we should act as individuals, stand upon our sovereignty of American manhood and American womanhood, where each one will stand upon his own feet and demand his own rights, and as figures of speech they sound splendid. To say that a workingman loses his individuality or his sovereignty in joining a union of labor is begging the question entirely. The fact of the matter is, as soon as a man enters an industrial plant he loses his individuality and becomes a mere cog in the great revolving machine, and the individuality of which modern industry has deprived the workingman is regained by the uniting and association and federation of the workmen in their union.

It may be true that the workmen surrender to the union what our opponents say is their individual right, but if that be so it is the individual right to do himself a wrong and his fellow workmen an injury. You and I and all of us as citizens surrender to the state, surrender to the city, surrender to the nation, certain rights that people in the olden times reserved to themselves. What is this great state of Ohio but a union? What is this country—what is this great United States—but an American federation of states. A little more than forty years ago several of these members of this union wanted to quit, leave the union; there was a great fuss about it. A strike resulted; it lasted over four years. It manufactured lots of corpses, widows and orphans, and after it was all over there wasn't anybody allowed to leave the union.

We organize because it is absolutely essential not only to our progress, but to the maintenance of the liberty we today enjoy. We are denounced for building our organizations that have done so much for men, that have done so much for women, that have done so much for the young and innocent children, that have taken these children out of the factories and workrooms and mills and mines and from the coke ovens and put them in the schoolroom and the home and the playground, where they may have the sunshine and grow to be men and women.

I was told that an organization of manufacturers held a convention at Atlanta and denounced the trades unions. A convention of what? A convention of manufacturers.

Just think of it! Denounced us. Why? Because, as they say, the trades unions deprive the workingman of his liberty. When in the history of the world did the masters fight and make sacrifices for the liberty of their slaves? When did the employer of labor make a fight and make sacrifices for the real liberty of the workingmen? We welcome their organization, but we ask them to follow the path of moderation and reason, the same that they demand of us as workmen. When they assume a right for themselves they cannot deny that same right to us. They are organizing; organization is the order of the day.

Women Taking Men's Places.
Former United States Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright is perhaps overenthusiastic in his belief that woman may successfully take man's place in "outside" employments. There are many lines of work for which woman is unfitted by nature, yet no one should deny her the opportunity to do that which she can do well. It is not safe to say that contact with the business and industrial world and her consequent independence robs her of desire for a life of domesticity, for most women would exchange their independence and so called freedom for love and home and real happiness. Editorial in Madame.

POWER OF UNION.

What Organization Has Done For Street Railway Workers.

President W. D. Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees gave some advice to street car men in an address delivered the other day to the members in Pittsburgh. Among other things Mr. Mahon says:

"Do not let any one tell you that our country is going to be destroyed by organized labor. That is false. We were told that years ago. The alarmist was abroad when organized labor began to spread throughout our country, but we have developed and we have intelligently conducted our affairs, and we have not destroyed the country either. On the contrary, we have just cause to claim that we have been the savior of our country. The trades union movement has taken the wage earner from a practical slave wage and developed him until today we stand an important factor in the community, and we are in no way threatening the structure of our government. True, we have made mistakes. They have told us of our mistakes and they have told us of many mistakes of which we are not guilty, but I want to say to you that all mistakes do not rest with the trades union.

"As pertains to our own movement, I am not going to take time to make a full comparison. I need not do so to you. Suffice it to say that where we are organized the wages are the best and the hours the least, and I want to say to you that where we are organized and the wages are the best and the hours the least there you will find the best men. These hours and wages were obtained by organization, and it must be admitted that it has fixed a standard which is a sort of magnet for the unorganized, although they do not attain in unorganized sections the wages and conditions we enjoy. In our movement, started twelve years ago, men were working for a wage of from 10 to 15 cents per hour, mostly day wages being paid, and in some instances I know where the wage was down to as low as 7 and 8 cents per hour, but the character of that of those days was different from that of today. Instead of the nine and ten hour day we were working from fourteen to seventeen and eighteen hours for a day. There was no question about schedules.

"The fact is the street car man went to work in the morning, and he took his car in with him at night. He burned the candle on both ends of the day, and for this long and weary day's work he received as his pay the munificent sum of from \$1 to \$1.75, generally the wage being from \$1.40 to \$1.00 per day. He did not have time to discuss schedules with the boss or anything else. If he didn't like the job he could go and look for another. Through hard, earnest work we have changed these conditions through our organization, and the young men of today cannot realize the hardships which these older men underwent during this transformation. But you say we worked on horse cars. Ah, my friends, we worked under those conditions after the electric car was started and would have continued working the long hours at the low wages up to the present time had it not been for organization."

PRICE OF CHEAPNESS.

The Bargain Counter Flourishes at the Expense of Human Life.

A New York journal makes the following statement apropos of the question of fashion and the ethics of the bargain table:

"Wherever extraordinarily low prices are asked for articles the purchaser may be certain that the labor which produced them was the prime cause of their cheapness. The cheaper grades of women's wrappers, for example, are made in filthy tenements for something like \$1.35 a dozen. Shirts are made for \$1.40 a dozen. Little children of three years or thereabouts thread needles and pull out basting threads. Children very little older sew on buttons and finish neckbands, etc. The whole family toil for fifteen hours a day and longer. They never sit down to a meal, but grab hasty bites of food from paper bags. This is the price of cheapness. Any woman who has looked upon such sights is thereafter content to go without bargains for the rest of her life. If her purse is limited she ceases to sigh for finery, wearing only such gowns as she can afford to pay a fair price for.

"The whole question of clothes and of fashions is mixed up with industrial problems. The Consumers' league and other organizations have labored for years to persuade women to consider the ethical side of shopping. Many have been persuaded, but the rush for cheap garments and the lust for bargains have not noticeably diminished."

The Men of Lattimer.

One of the matters which are to receive the attention of John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, will be the erection of a monument in memory of the men who fell at Lattimer, Pa., on Sept. 10, 1897. More than \$8,000 has been collected, and a design for the monument has been adopted, but the location of the memorial has not yet been decided upon. Some of the miners advocate the erection of a miners' hall instead of a monument.

No Convict Labor.

President Roosevelt has issued an order that convict labor cannot be employed on contracts for the United States. Judge Advocate General Davis of the war department declared in his opinion that the employment of convicts was against the spirit and letter of all labor laws of this country.

PERSONAL LIBERTY.

FREEDOM TO STARVE DOES NOT APPEAL TO THE WORKER.

In Union Alone Does He Find Economic Independence—Without Combination the Wageworker is at the Mercy of His Employer.

In a hundred different directions the freedom of the citizen in modern society is restricted in the interests of the general welfare, of public good, of health and morals. We hear very little about personal liberty and individualism when the law prohibits this or that or the other thing in the name of morality and public policy. It is only when labor legislation is involved or the question of unionism in general that many of our sapient judges and educators and editors become alarmed lest liberty should be sacrificed.

We have discussed the fallacious decision in the New York bakeries case, in which a ten hour act was set aside on the absurd ground that the journeyman bakers ought to have the liberty to work fifteen or eighteen hours a day! The fact that the law was enacted at the demand of the journeymen who did not want to work longer hours was apparently considered quite immaterial. The personal liberty of the hypothetical baker who claimed his glorious right to work like a slave and bear of burden caused the learned judges much worry and sleeplessness. He, the imaginary person, must be protected in his slavery and misery, and the ten hour law must go as an assault on liberty.

The decision is but one of many instances of the misuse of the "liberty" cry. The most persistent champion of this one sided, jug handled liberty is President Eliot of Harvard, who in and out of season attacks unionism for its alleged enmity to personal liberty. His arguments have a strange, faroff sound, an antiquated air. They ignore all modern reality, the developments of the last two or three decades, the real elements of the industrial problem.

In a recent meeting in New York city President Eliot reiterated his threadbare half truths concerning the freedom of the individual workman. But it is significant that he met with very little sympathy from the speakers, noted economists, professors and impartial thinkers.

In a very enlightening editorial on the subject the Springfield (Mass.) Republican thus comments on the discussion referred to:

All the other addresses on that occasion, even those of the employer from Pittsburg and the professor of economics from Columbia, have the effect of weakening the force of President Eliot's protest in behalf of an unrestricted individualism. Professor Seligman's very acute analysis of economic liberty clearly exhibits the truth that we can never enjoy liberty in any absolute sense and that "all social progress is a result of a certain repression of the liberty of some in the interests of all." Nor can we object seriously to Professor Seligman's conclusion that "all liberty is a balancing between the forces of anarchy and tyranny." The special representatives of labor who participated in the discussion were able, of course, to show very convincingly how far from real economic freedom was the average wage earner under the factory system before labor unions had forced the idea of collective bargaining into the scale. The notion that, as between employer and employed, the average wage earner under modern conditions could really exercise the right of freedom of contract were he to remain an isolated economic unit is negatived by every fact of common workaday life. It is by sacrificing his theoretical freedom of contract as an individual and by merging himself into an association of his fellows that the wage earner in the modern world is able to secure improved conditions of living. When competition becomes mutually destructive in short, either among capitalists or wage earners, the mere instinct of self preservation will drive men into courses whereby competition may be modified and checked, and this is bound to happen, whatever may be the wounds inflicted upon theories and philosophies, by the constant adjustment of men to the hard facts of their lives. Thus liberty, as Professor Seligman says, becomes "a balancing between the forces of anarchy and tyranny," and the balancing at any given time will be for the most part governed by the economic conditions that prevail in the struggle for life.

Freedom to starve and toil for a sweater is not the kind which will appeal to an American workingman. Without combination and co-operation the individual workman is helpless, at the mercy of the employer, owing to the involuntary idlers, the professional strike breakers, the antisocial low creatures, who permit themselves to be used as tools by the greedy and shortsighted plutocracy.

In union alone does the workman find strength, dignity and economic independence.

That for the sake of these great benefits the worker must surrender some of his "freedom" is true, just as it is true that the citizen must give up some of his wild freedom in order to enjoy the benefits of society. Even membership in a club involves the giving up of some freedom, the acceptance of some restrictions.

The question to consider is whether, other things being equal and the industrial order being what it is, the individual workman would be freer, in the true sense of the word, without unions than he is with them.

The fossils who talk about personal liberty never deal with this fundamental question. That is why they produce no impression upon thoughtful and earnest thinkers and can have no influence in shaping the course of labor organized—aye, even unorganized. For, as a matter of fact, unorganized workers generally make common cause with the trades unions when they realize that their interests or rights are affected.—American Federationist.

Trades Unionism's Mission.

When men can labor when they please, where they please and under what conditions they please, trades unionism will have performed its mission and all men will be economically free.

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