

IN MEMORIAM OF BLOODY SUNDAY

The Real Revolution

Murray E. King Condemns the Barricade and Proclaims the Reign of the Idea.

Ever since the upheaval in France a century and a quarter ago, revolutionists of a certain type have been hypnotized by the dream of barricades. The vision of an aroused populace, of surging multitudes, of hot and reckless passions, of swift and dramatic incidents, of dominating personalities of sudden fame, of sweeping changes, of quick glory, intoxicates them. This type of men form a current on the eve of a second world-crisis whose direction is irresistibly once more to the barricades. This dangerous and reactionary sentiment among men of the destructive type has no real place in the present revolution. The premature uprising in Russia reveals the dominance of this type there. So powerful was the current toward the barricades, that in spite of the advice of the saner German Socialist Party which advised a constructive policy testing alleged concessions to be granted by the czar and taking advantage of such opportunity to further spread their propaganda and political organization, in spite of this advice of their more experienced comrades, the barricades sucked them in to their death. After the declaration of the general strike as an offset to Witte's plans, the barricade revolutionists, drunken with their deceptive doctrine precipitated the holocaust of Moscow.

Revolutionary Paris, once more revived, lived, exulted and died in one glorious fatal moment in the bloody streets of Moscow. It was an inspiring awful moment for the onlooking proletariat round the world. How we gazed with hungry eager hope through the rifts of smoke and steel and thunder for the first gleam of hope; but we hoped against hope! Barricade revolution, fought and shrieked and died in a fit of incredible desperation with its pitiful arms and the pitiful want of training against the trained savagery of the modern expert killing-craft.

The revolutionary life that is stirring in Europe and America, prophetic of the next great world-change is full—too full—of the fatal spirit of barricade revolution. Revolutionary Paris stirred to its depths, roused to its heights, still after a century, dominates the radical wing of the industrial revolution. But the most unsafe thing to do is to copy blindly after the past. No one can predict the nature of the change when it comes. Any premature violence on the part of the working class would be profoundly fatal in any country today. It would lead to an awful sacrifice of life against the fearfully effective weapons of modern warfare, and it would outlaw in the eyes of the great masses of unconscious workers in the socialist movement.

We must look well to the weapons we have and look well to their

greatest utility. An examination of our powers, renders foolish the thought of the return to the barricade. I use the term barricade to mean all actively physical aggression on our part. There are prominent socialists in America who advocate the arming of the proletariat and there is a large class of socialists who act upon the theory that the real work ahead is an armed conflict. The peculiar weapon of the socialist movement is the idea. Never, never did an arising class confront a condition wherein enlightenment gave such irresistible power. By conscious enlightenment alone, the working class of the world can free itself. Against its awakening consciousness, guns and dynamite are powerless, and guns and dynamite have no place in the work of the hour.

The reason for all this is because the entire structure of capitalism rests upon the ignorance and class unconsciousness of the workers. Capitalism does not exist apart from the workers; the handful of men constituting the real ruling class under capitalism could not make even a shadow of defense were the workers of the world everywhere aroused to class-consciousness. Capitalism is reduced to such straits that it has to depend upon the revolutionary class to man all its war vessels and forts, to shoot its guns and cannons, to wield its police clubs and constitute its militia. How does it keep the allegiance of so large a proportion of the very class it suppresses, imprisons or shoots? By the idea, by mental control. How then will we render battleship, cannon, rifle, bayonet and club harmless curios in the midst of great and stirring change? By the idea, the idea of class-conscious unity of the working class; the idea spread by eternally dogged and persistent propaganda.

How can any socialist consistently talk violent revolution as a method, or dwell upon it as a possibility, when the declared international policy of socialism is opposition to all war. To dream of the barricade is to desert the only irresistible weapon, the idea, education, class-consciousness, and to arm the proletariat is to give them the excuse to cease thinking. When they cease to think the revolution becomes a hopeless issue. Arms and dreams of violent conflicts are disturbing elements and reactionary forces in this great upward and onward mental and moral growth of the proletariat. Let us learn to place our entire dependence on the omnipotence of intelligence to accomplish the revolution. When we depend entirely upon this, our victory is assured.

After this first dependence let us turn to the real moral agent of the revolution. This is our position on all issues. On all issues we

must place the burden of outlawry upon the enemy. Let us stand on the side of public and social integrity on all questions and let no place our enemy in a position where he virtually outlaws himself. To illustrate, let us use the ballot according to rule prescribed by the constitution of the United States and rise to power within the law. Such a course followed undeviatingly will surely compel the enemy to outlaw himself and alienate himself from the support of the great mass of following humanity. In the first place he will break the law to win election, knowing full well the effects that would follow our rule. Let us then expose him, we standing for the law, he against it. Let him be the one to begin violence in strikes and let us not fail to make the most of such situations. When the hour strikes, when we win a national election, it is probable he will then make an arch outlaw of himself.

He will probably refuse to abide by the constitution as he always does under such circumstances, and oppose our taking office. At that moment this final act of outlawry will alienate him from his essential

Lessons From the Russian Uprising

(BY VICTOR L. BERGER)

The Russian revolution, according to the latest reports, has been quenched in blood.

No revolution has been successful when neither the troops went over to the cause of the people, nor the people themselves were armed.

We all know that the great French Revolution of 1789 had its actual beginning from the hour when the French Guards went over to the people. Besides with the help of the French Guards, during the night of July 14, the people took 27,000 muskets and the necessary ammunition from the cellars of the Hotel des Invalides. The French revolutions of 1830 and 1848 were made possible by the National Guards representing the people. The so-called June uprising of the Parisian working people in '48 found its nucleus in the battalions of the National Guards of Belleville and Montmartre. And the uprising of the Commune in 1871 would never have been possible if it had not been for the fact that 500,000 Parisian workmen had been armed by the government in order to defend Paris against the Germans.

We can see this right through history from every uprising that ever took place, including the American revolution, when a frontier people of well armed farmers and hunters and Indian fighters, with the help of well organized militia in the different colonies, rose against England.

Of course the Social-Democracy is revolutionary. But it is revolutionary not in the vulgar use of the word; which is entirely wrong, but in the legitimate historical sense, which alone is right. We expect success, not from smaller or larger riots, but from a revolutionizing of the minds of the people, which is

support, and if war comes, we will be the government, the law and the country and he the criminal and outlaw. Such an attitude united with a constructive policy and implicit dependence on the powers of intelligence constitute the real revolution.

MURRAY E. KING.

The universal observance of "Bloody Sunday" by the working class of all countries has filled the ruling class, the wealthy class, of the world with consternation, and that "free" and "equal" America should be most ardent in these demonstrations has filled the "respectable and comfortable" with amazement. In Chicago 1,000 men and women marched through slush and snow, carrying red flags. In Boston the immense parade marched to the stirring strains of the "Marseillaise," the revolutionary bugle call of the world. In New York 15,000 were in the line of march, and similar word comes from the cities all over the country. The capitalist papers try to make the people think that only foreigners participate in these demonstrations. It is not true. The socialists of America, both native and foreign are marching and the "respectables" can make the most of it.

the result of the revolutionizing of economic conditions. These two agencies form the only two revolutionary forces in existence.

Therefore the Social-Democrats concentrate their whole force on agitation, education and organization. Therefore the Social-Democratic leaders all over the world, as a rule, have been matter-of-fact, cool-headed men, who understand that socialism is the outcome of the economic development of capitalism. They therefore absolutely refute to break off the thread of history at any one place. Social-Democratic thinkers always connect their plans with their present condition of things. They want to build upon the present civilization, since socialism is to be a child of capitalism—since it is to be the crowning of the present system, to use an expression from Kautsky.

Besides, might serves only the class that has the might. And as long as 99 per cent of the Americans are disarmed, it is ridiculous to talk about revolutions and expropriations.

So take it all in all, there are two great lessons which we Americans have to learn from the Russian uprising.

First, that our nation must in some way get to be an armed nation. A disarmed nation is always a slave nation. An armed nation is always a free nation. An armed nation will gain a thousand things peacefully which a disarmed nation cannot reach even by an uprising. The Americans were the best armed people in the world a hundred years ago. Today, excepting the Russians, there is no nation so thoroughly disarmed as we. And if this status of things continues an-

(Continued on page 4.)

Outlook For Russia

Masterly Analysis of the Proletarian Revolution in the East, by A. M. Simons.

It is with a full realization of the dangers accompanying prophecy and with a complete disclaimer of any special gift in that direction that we take up this discussion. There are certain general forces of social evolution at work in Russia which may be expected to produce much the same result, that they have previously produced elsewhere, and so long as prophecy is confined to examining the resultants of these forces it is wholly justifiable.

A study of the different industrial classes struggling for power and the strength back of them shows that these may be classified much as follows: First the autocracy with the grand ducal clique answering quite closely to the "First Estate" of a century ago in France. This class, essentially an anachronism even in the 19th, to say nothing of the 20th century, has behind it no industrial strength and has retained its position largely by virtue of inertia. It is now almost a negligible quantity. In the second place we have the bourgeoisie, the logical heir to the autocracy but which seems incapable of realizing upon its inheritance. It lacks coherency, initiative and most important of all a hold upon the proletariat, sufficiently strong to compel the latter to fight its battles. Finally we have the working class composed of the city proletariat and the peasant, a class distinctly revolutionary, and which seems to have awakened to a class consciousness far keener than its industrial position would seem to justify. This proletariat has shown a remarkable adaptability in choosing its weapons for the battle. It uses with apparently equal facility the street demonstration, the mass strike, terrorism and open battle. It seems to be well nigh omnipresent. In this characteristic lies its greatest strength. This is well expressed in the following extract from a dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean:

"There are not troops enough in Europe to put down the revolution," declared a trembling army officer today as he boarded a train with re-enforcements for the Moscow garrison. "If one town is wiped off the map another throws up defenses. The peasants are fighting in their own back yards. They are beasts in their own caves. It would take a billion men and a century of campaigning to ferret each nest of snakes out of its hole. I fear for Russia."

It is truly impossible to put down such revolution. It is possible it has been crushed at Moscow, but it flames up in a hundred other places. When we come to examine the forces of suppression we find that the army itself is permeated with disaffection. The main reliance of the government is the Cossack, but as is pointed out elsewhere in this number by Comrade

Kautsky the Cossack fights for loot, and it will be strange if the idea does not penetrate into his thick skull before long that much richer pickings are to be found inside of palaces than amid workingmen's hovels. When he does it will be a sorry day for those who for the last century have been training him to a career of blood and plunder.

Viewed from any point of view, however, the immediate future promises to be a dark and bloody one. Famine hangs threateningly over the great "black belt" and the same wires that bring this message to us tell us of record breaking shipments of wheat from this same locality. What the peasant will do when famine swoops down upon him to add the last spur to the bestial degradation that centuries of oppression has forced upon him is something that staggers imagination.

The Manchurian army presents a problem which must not be overlooked. With between half a million and a million men several thousand miles from Russia, with only a single track railroad to bring them home, with a government practically without funds for transportation of rations, and with no desire to see them come back only to lend their aid to an impending revolution, and with that army itself disorganized by revolt it is easily possible that the world may see a sight beside which Napoleon's retreat from Moscow was but a peaceful summer walk for pleasure.

We are told repeatedly that Russia is not ready for socialism, and there is probably no disputing that proposition, but a few years or even months, of the terrible education which she is now undergoing may work wonders. When a whole nation is forced to study one topic and forced to do this amid bursting bomb, beneath the crack of Cossack whips and facing the muzzles of machine guns it is easily possible that graduation day may be somewhat hastened.

What will be the effect of all this on the world wide proletarian movement? In the first place it is going to teach the workers something of the variety of weapons which are at their hands when needed. There has been something of a tendency in past years to over-estimate the ballot and parliamentarianism. Russia is causing a similar over-estimation of the general strike. Before she is done she will probably show us that contrary to the common impression the day of the bomb the barricade and the bullet has not forever past. Yet up to the present time it must be admitted that she has advanced no evidence to show that in countries where universal suffrage prevails any other weapon would be as effective as the ballot. The general strike, amid a population already half crazed with revo-

(Continued on page 3.)

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THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY.

The world has moved forward into a new cycle as it commemorates with loving words, with impassioned oration, with mighty demonstrations of marching multitudes, waving banners, strains of throbbing music, around the zones of the broad globe, the tragedy of the martyrdom of the working class in St. Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1905. The world has taken a great stride upward and forward in the commemoration of this event, because it marks the conscious determination, recognition and courage of the working class in the face of a crisis that heralds a readjustment of social affairs for them. The bugle note that is thrilling the forces of the world to action, that is filling courts and palaces with alarm is today—marvel of the under world—blown lustily and boldly by the working class.

We are printing today, in this commemorative issue of the News, articles from the pens of probably the two most scholarly and best posted American socialists on the Russian situation. Victor Berger's article emphasizes the necessity of a more or less slow evolutionary industrial development before any permanent revolution is possible. He ignores the idea of mutation in social progress, and lays stress on the hypothesis that every nation or people must follow the path that the nations passed over in their development from feudalism into socialism. While Russia is still housed within the shell of ancient industrial institutions the internal organism of her productive activities has been forced to beat responsive to the throbs of the capitalistic motor in the world's market. Her wheat, beef, iron, oil and wool are handled as these products are handled elsewhere—through the iron-clad domination of the trust ukase. The primitive period of capitalism, the snarl and clow of competition, are no longer possible in any organized industry, even in Russia. Whenever a new industry is established, it is imperative that it be established on a large capitalistic basis, for that is the only way in which it can ever enter into the markets of the world. An up-to-date combined harvester planted in the wheat fields of Russia is a very efficient educator of even the stupidest peasant as to the wily ways of modern capitalistic production. And when we come to cite the enormous shops and factories, to say nothing of the screaming engines and the rushing railroad trains, it is evident that no matter what social form is the legacy of the present upheaval, long periods of primitive production and the political structure that incases them, are forever in the future of the world impossible.

Comrade Berger regrets the loss of life, the "needless slaughter," the premature precipitation of an unripe revolution. Comrade Kautsky, in an article which we also reprint this week, states that there can be no return to the condition of the past. And if it has taken the blood and machine guns, the terrors and atrocities, the butchery of women and

babes that have thrilled the world with horror, to embody the revolt of suffering Russia, who shall say, "It is not well?"

It is a magnificent passage of Marx quoted from the "Eighteenth Brumaire" by the "Worker," in which he describes the halting and uncertain character of proletarian revolutions. Though the mission is not complete, it is well it is begun.

The word of wisdom, however, which is probably of most value to American socialists in Comrade Berger's article, is the careful pointing out, supported by the testimony of history, that no people have ever achieved freedom who were unarmed, with the logical deduction that it were well that the American proletariat should learn to bear arms, and that the training in the militia will be valuable if the American workingmen are ever called upon to defend their class freedom.

We remember hearing Job Harri-man, at the meeting of the national committee four years ago in St. Louis, introduce a recommendation that all American workingmen should arm themselves. He went on to show that such a measure would be in the interests of peace, that it would force arbitration in time of labor difficulties, and was in successful operation in Switzerland. But he was vigorously opposed, and finally withdrew the motion, as, he said, he saw they were not ready for it.

Comrade Simons' editorial is a clear and masterful presentation of the possibilities of converging events "hastening the graduation."

No historian can write history before it happens. Neither can the future be prophesied wholly from the past. Progress is upward in a spiral, not round in a mathematical circle.

We take events as we find them, but it is safe to assert that the Hot-tentot in his evolution, if he ever makes any, will not pass through feudalism to get into capitalism.

It is a matter for comment to note how many English women of high social position have been active political speakers in the present electoral campaign, mostly on the side of the liberals. Their activity is taken as a matter of fact, while if prominent women should take such a position in America, "high" society would be scandalized. Women are mocked with a pretense of "freedom" here in capitalist-cursed America, exactly as the working class are. They have flattery, but justice, commonsense and opportunity are withheld.

Marshall Field had manufacturing shops and factories in China, Japan and Hawaii. It is not much difference to the American workman whether the Chinese make American products in China or in America. Cheap labor gets the job. The trust has annihilated space. The world factory and the world market rob the worker of everything but skin, bones and overalls.

Lady Warwick is making a sensation in England by the canvass she is making for the working class candidates. She is talking socialism from tradesmen's wagons, and says the new government now being formed by the liberalists will not last 18 months, but that the people must rule democratically.

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FROM REVOLUTION to REVOLUTION

Brief of Prof. George D. Herron's Famous Monograph—Lessons for Socialists.

History must be understood if we would profit by its successes and failures. In preparing the following digest of one of the strongest and most beautiful expressions that the American socialist movement has called into being, no attempt has been made at originality. The wording of the author has been, in most cases, strictly followed. It is sufficient if our people can be brought to see its beauty and power.

Professor Herron's address for the socialist clubs of Massachusetts in Faneuil hall, in March, 1903, on "The Paris Commune and Its Lessons," is one of the best analyses existent of a remarkable demonstration in the struggle of the race towards freedom. The story of the "Commune" is well known to every well-read socialist. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, the people of Paris were so outraged at the surrender of the city by the despisable "Little Napoleon," the "emperor of the slums," to Bismarck, that they revolted against both the German and French governments. They were supported by the national guards. For two months, in the spring of 1871, the workingmen held Paris in the most efficient government that much beleaguered city had ever known. The proletariat class, the frightened "defenders of law and order," made terms with the government of the miserable Thiers at Versailles, and the result was the governmental murder of men, women and children to the number of 30,000.

Dr. Herron calls the epoch, "history's supreme tragedy." There is no martyrdom so splendid, no sacrifice of a people so great. There is not any protest of the common life against oppression so disinterested and so truly noble, so worthy of being sung in epic and told in story, as this mighty martyrdom of the working class of Paris in the spring of 1871—the spectacle of a whole people going not only to death, but to accepted oblivion, to foreknown obloquy and disgrace. The novelist and the historian, the politician, and the priest and the king, and all the retainers of the ruling class, have stamped the communards with infamy, yet at no other time or place has life been so free and safe, with so small an average of human misery. Even capitalist properties were more sacredly protected by the commune than by the capitalist administration itself. In that glad day when truth can stand on its feet and face the world naked and unashamed those few days of the working class administration of Paris will be seen as the forerunner of the better days that will come under the co-operative commonwealth, when these evil days of capitalist misgovernment, with its prostitution of the common life, shall have passed away forever.

Speaking after the manner of men, it was a failure; it died in the trenches. What are the lessons of this failure to the socialist movement of this time?

One factor was inadequate leadership. The working class of Paris depended upon leaders outside of its own experience. The men who first led the communist revolt were men without knowledge of the real mission of the working class in human evolution. They were for the most part discredited military leaders, or politicians who had lost their games in the old political parties. They were only interested in using the working class to place and perpetuate themselves.

It is from within, from its own labor and struggle and growth, from its own human clay and fashioning, from the bone of its bone, and the flesh of its flesh, and the blood of its blood, that the working class beget the leadership that is to set it free; and those whom it accepts in any sense as teachers and leaders must be those who have willingly taken their places in the struggle and the loss of rejected humanity, asking nothing for themselves but the privilege of serving unnoticed with the

rest. It is only two or three days ago that a very eminent politician admitted to me frankly, that he was waiting to see which way the people would move in order to decide whether he should join the socialist movement. Such as he have been the bane of the people in all ages.

The working class does not need leadership so much as it needs comradeship.

Again there was not at the time of the Paris commune a real consciousness of itself as a class on the part of the working people. Those who do not understand the history of the term, mistake class consciousness for class hatred. None the less, it is true that until the working class becomes more vividly and intensely conscious of itself than it now is, until it realizes that it is the disinherited owner of the world that it has built on its own back, until it understands that there can be no possible identity of interest or reconciliation between itself and the employing or ruling class, its struggle toward emancipation will be blind and unintelligent. There are no words that can make this fact vivid and revolutionary enough—the fact that society and its institutions are organized for the purpose of enabling some people to live off of other people, the few to live off the many.

Our institutions, morals and creeds have but served to keep the people submissive to the depredations of the ruling class. The history of the world is but the struggle between unpaid labor, and those who possess its products.

Another lesson of the commune is that it was the precipitation of a struggle upon the working class for which it was not prepared. The capitalist class was guilefully inciting the very revolution that was the proletariat's inspiration and sacrifice. This has been the tactic of the possessing class in all history—to precipitate premature revolt on the part of the enslaved class when compromise could no longer put off the inevitable revolution.

This lesson is enforced by the history of every important strike. The whole increasing labor struggle of America is vivid with the efforts of capitalists to precipitate riot and bloodshed for the purpose of discrediting and disheartening organized labor. As the socialist movement grows it must be prepared for the fact that politicians, capitalist emissaries in labor ranks, hasty leaders in the socialist movement will seek to precipitate conflicts for which the movement is not ready. It is the capitalist who would like to have us try to win the day with guns and bricks in our hands rather than with intelligence in our heads and comradeship in our hearts. We must be bold and true enough to refuse to be governed by the irritations that are meant to drive us to premature revolt. It is one of the marks of greatness to know how to bide one's time.

The history of the world has pivoted itself upon the struggle for bread; it has been the struggle on the part of those who made bread and did not have it against those who had bread but did not make it. To have power over another's bread, power to give it or take it away as may serve one's interest, is to have the power of life or death over another.

The clear seeing of this economic motive of history will alone save us from the tragedies and follies of compromise. On every side are propositions, political and industrial, based upon an assumed identity of interest between the possessing and working classes. Now, as ever, the owning class is preparing to give the people a few more crumbs of what is theirs, in order to prevent them from demanding what they must in the end demand—namely, the whole product of their labor, and the common ownership of its materials and machinery. Great initiatives and revolutions

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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.	Lenep	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.	Garneil	Arrive 8:35 a. m.	
Leave 5:00 p. m.	Moore	Arrive 7:50 a. m.	
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have always been robbed of definition and issue when adopted by the class against which the revolt was directed.

The old political parties are ready to give some things in the name of socialism in order to avert the socialist reality, and you will even find Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan posing as reasonable kinds of socialists. You may have municipal ownership, nationalized transportation, initiative and referendum, civil service reform, and many other capitalist concessions, and be all the further away from social democracy.

It is all one to the capitalist in the last analysis, what names or terms you have, so long as you leave with him the sources of industrial control. Just that long will capitalism reap not only the fruits of the world's labor, but the fruits of its ideals and aspirations as well; shape its arts and literatures and give voice to its pulpits and universities.

It ought to be a sufficient indictment of our present kind of civilization that it can stand only upon the degradation of labor, the servility of the intellect, the prostitution of the state, and the hypocrisy of religion. It is not for better wages, improved capitalist conditions, or a share of capitalist profits that the socialist movement is in the world. It is here for the abolition of wages and profits, and for the end of capitalism and the private capitalist.

covers the matter treated in his "Ancient Society" relative to his researches among the Iroquois Indians concerning early tribal institutions, and their development into present institutions from economic necessity.

With socialism will come a time when evolution will become conscious and fore-chosen, and no longer blind and unknowing. We shall know the way we take, and cease to be a world of children fighting and crying in the dark.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

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BLOODY SUNDAY

Before the palace of the Czar, in the grey of the early dawn,
The snow lay pure and spotless as o'er moon-beams fell upon.
When next upon this winter scene the light of the moon was shed,
The snow before the palace gates with martyrs' blood was red.
Between the dawn of this Sunday morn and the coming twilight gloom,
The cruel wrongs of a tyrant's rule had faced their final doom.
At sight of this baptismal blood upon the crimson snow,
The proletarian giant rose and grappled with his foe.
He saw that peaceful, meek appeal, bring only tyrants' scorn,
That he must fight, who'd see the light of Freedom's coming morn.
At last this lesson he had learned, a lesson all should know,
That tyrants only yield the field when they are forced to go.
No more he'll bend the suppliant knee, no more he'll favor crave,
He who will bog for what's his own deserves to be a slave.
King Labor stands erect to-day in fullest manhood grown,
As might makes right, he has the might' and he shall claim his own.
And the strife begun on this Sunday morn, this strife shall never cease,
'Till the workers of all the world are held in universal peace.
In every land, on tyrants' rule, the workers place the ban,
And the army of labor is marching on to the Brotherhood of Man.
'Tis the mightiest army ever yet engaged on any field,
An army that never shall sicken its arms until the tyrants yield.
For the world belongs to the workers and we'll have it now, say we,
And comrades firm in this resolve clasp hands hands across the sea.
From east, from west, from north from south comes back this same refrain,
'We've nothing but our chains to lose, and all the world to gain.
O, comrades, 'tis a privilege to mingle in this fray,
And give what help within us lies to usher in the day.
Our comrades from the hill-top there, they turn and beckon on,
Their faces lit with rose tints bright of Freedom's breaking dawn.
Come answer them with shout and cheer, nor let them beckon vain.
The fight is ours as well as theirs, and ours shall be the gain.
Press on; press on; your goal's in sight, our flags shall not be furled,
'Till tyranny, forevermore, is banished from the world.

—J. FRANK MABIE.

FROM THE FIELD.

Have resurrected the organization here as a result of two public meetings. While public meetings were not very liberally patronized, results of visit are highly encouraging. The audiences at the opera house each night were very intelligent and showed considerable appreciation. After meeting Tuesday evening I called upon the socialists to remain for an after meeting, the results of which are a local. Six new members applied for admission and the following officers were elected:

Corresponding secretary, A. J. Chapman, financial secretary, J. P. Howard, organizer, E. G. Bjorneby, literary agent, Otto Johnson. A collection of five dollars was taken for the speaker and five subscriptions for the News were sold. The members of original Local Kalispell who were present numbered four, so that this organization starts out with ten members. It is believed the membership will be swelled to eighteen before the end of the week.

A prominent Protestant minister here has just embraced socialism after a thorough study of the standard socialist classics. He is anxious to devote his entire time to the movement and will resign his pastorate for the new work.

M. E. KING.

We are going to make the American "respectable" swallow the red flag without a spasm. A few years ago he had the same revulsion of his digestive apparatus at the word "socialist." He has learned to consult the dictionary and take it at its etymological meaning. He will learn the significance of the red flag in the same way—not as taking the place of any national emblem, but as the international banner of the comradeship of the international socialist party.

OUTLOOK FOR RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1.)

lutionary fervor, with no other method of expressing their indignation, is a totally different proposition from a general strike amid the confused political and economic ideas of modern capitalistic nations with their countless divisions among the working class.

A. M. SIMONS.

(In International Socialist Review.)

Ebb and Flow of the Russian Revolution

In the opening pages of "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx has set forth with wonderful insight and clearness the characteristic difference between the revolutionary movements which have established capitalism in power and those by which the working class is to shake off the capitalist yoke.

"Bourgeois revolutions leap from success to success, their successive dramatic effects surpass each other, men and things seem to sparkle, ecstacy is the prevailing state of mind. * * * Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, constantly make their own critique, continually interrupt their course, return upon what seemed accomplished and begin it anew, cruelly scorn the imperfections and weaknesses of their own first attempts, appear to conquer their adversary only to permit him to rise in greater strength; they shrink with fear before the immensity of the end they pursue, until the situation arises which makes retreat impossible."

The words might have been written of the events now proceeding in Russia as well as of those in France fifty-seven years ago. For the greater part of the year that country has been virtually in an acute state of revolutionary activity, and the progress made by the revolution during the year, when we cast up the account, will be seen to be immense. But that progress has been anything but continuous. It has been like the incoming of the tide—wave after wave sweeping up and falling back again, but each one rising a little higher than the one before and retreating not quite so far. In January, in June, in October, and again last month have come splendid demonstrations of popular energy, and each has been followed by a period of reactionary triumph, of official perfidy and bloody repression. Today the revolutionary forces are comparatively quiet. Perhaps some of the rulers are foolish enough to think them dead. But we know better, all thinking men know better, even the world's money lords know better—as was shown by the failure of the attempt to float a Russian loan in Paris last week. No, the Russian revolution is not dead nor even sleeping; it has only stopped to take breath and to gird its loins for more heroic struggle. It may be but a few weeks, and surely will not be more than a few months, till we shall see the next wave, more powerful and more extensive even than that which came so near to victory in the last days of 1905.—The Worker.

Speaking of the unemployed march through London the London correspondent of an Edinburgh capitalist rag says: "The march was a terrible object-lesson in poverty. It suggested a nightmare—a human snake glistening with the hideous scales of want—writhed and wound its way past. The men did not march; they shuffled, shambled, tottered, dragged themselves wearily along, all sorts and sizes, young and old. Some of them were mere lads, veritable living skeletons, tramping alongside of grey old men, human bags of bones. Very rarely in the crowd did I notice the face of the born loafer. The street "moucher" and the public-house "mopper" were not in that galley. The presence of a band mournfully playing a Sousa march added to the general desolation. Music sounded a hollow mockery in such a throng. Two or three forlorn Scots pipers gave forth heart-breaking dirges. One tune, "The Cambell are Comin'," alone seemed to give promise of liberalism and light. The men themselves were a dirge. The whole scene was a Dantesque—a subject for a modern Inferno, a London epic of pain. The student of physiognomy could not fail to be struck by the strange types of faces—some staring with the dumb gaze of hunger, others stamped with wolfish brutality and the lowest animal instincts."

How in the name of common sense can anyone be found to support a system that produces such an "epic of pain?"—Marat, in Edinburgh Socialist.

REVOLUTION, PAST AND PRESENT

Karl Kautsky Defines Capitalist and Proletarian Upheavals

While many within our own ranks may well be in doubt concerning the events of the present year, one thing is plain today even to the most stupid: Russia is now in the midst of a revolution, that for violence and significance may well be compared with the two greatest revolutions that history has yet known—the English revolution of the 17th century and the French of the 18th.

It is easy to draw comparisons between them, and their superficial resemblances are striking. Each of these revolutions was directed at absolutism, against which the mass of the nation arose, because its yoke had become unbearable—because it had brought misery, outrages and despair upon the country. The resemblance does not go much further. We are met with fundamental differences the moment we penetrate beneath the political surface and investigate the class antagonisms which furnish the effective motive force of the movement.

There we find, first of all as the great difference between earlier revolutions and the present one, that in the latter, for the first time in the history of the world, the industrial proletariat rises triumphantly as the dominant independent directing force. The rising of the Paris Commune of 1870 was but the revolt of a single city, suppressed within a few weeks. Now we see a revolution extending from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the Baltic to the Pacific, which has already continued for a year, and in which the proletariat grows ever mightier in power and self consciousness.

To be sure we do not yet have the complete denomination, the dictatorship of the proletariat,—not yet the socialist revolution, but only its beginnings. The proletariat of Russia is breaking its chains only in order to free its hands for the class struggle against capitalism; it does not yet feel itself strong enough to attempt the expropriation of capital. But that the watchword of a proletarian class-struggle has been raised is a tremendous advance from the socialist standpoint, as contrasted with the revolutions of 1648 and 1789.

In each of these revolutions only the capitalist class was victorious. But, politically as well as economically, this class lives from the exploitation of the strength of others. It has never made a revolution, but always exploited them. It has always left the making of revolution the fighting and its perils to the mass of the people. The real active force in the masses during the 17th and 18th centuries was not the proletariat, but the class of small traders and manufacturers; the proletariat was but their unconscious followers. It was the bold and self-conscious small capitalists of the metropolitan cities of London and Paris who dared to take up the leadership in the battle against absolutism, and who were successful in overthrowing it.

In Russia this class has been neither bold nor self-conscious, at least not during the last century, since there has been a Russian Czarism. It has been largely recruited only from uprooted peasants, who but a few decades ago were still serfs. And there is no great city dominating the whole Russian kingdom. Moreover, today, even in France and England the capital cities have lost their absolute domination, but must now share their power with the industrial cities. Even in western Europe the small capitalists have ceased to be revolutionary, but have become rather a pillar of reaction and government power.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the small capitalists of Russia, together with the slum proletariat, have from the beginning joined the elements of the counter-revolution, placing themselves at the disposal of the police for the suppression of the revolution. But since this class of small capitalists has no political

program and no political goal, it can be driven into the battle against the revolution only by the promise of private gain, or the goal of personal revenge. But there is no booty to be gained by fighting a propertyless proletariat, and if this be armed only wounds and death. Consequently the reactionary little capitalist, as soon as he no longer has any political ideal becomes as cowardly as he is brutal; he vents his rage only on the weakest members of society. As an exploiter, he prefers women and children. In the present battle against the revolution he attacks only Jews and isolated students and not the sturdy laborers. So the Russian counter-revolution soon becomes a riot of plunder, murder and arson. The revolutionary proletariat, in its battle against the reaction, is therefore as much the indisputable element in social progress, as it has long been the most significant element economically. On the other hand, the small capitalist class, so far as it does not unite with the proletariat shows itself as a political factor to be capable of producing only evil and social destruction, just as economically, it has today become little more than a parasite on the social body, maintaining its existence only at the expense of society.

It is impossible to foresee what form of agricultural production will develop upon the new foundations, but one thing is certain; at this point also the Russian and the French revolutions will be alike in that the breaking up of the great private landed estates will constitute a tie that will bind the peasants to the revolution. We do not yet know what battle of races the new revolution may conceal within its bosom, and it is easily possible that differences may arise between the peasants and the city proletariat, but the former will fight with tooth and nail to defend themselves against any revolution that seeks to re-establish the old landed regime even by foreign intervention.

This brings us to the third factor to be considered in any comparison of the three revolutions—the foreign conditions which they create.

During the 17th century international commerce was still so small that the English revolution remained a purely local event that found no echo in the remainder of Europe. It was not foreign war, but the long drawn out civil war arising from the great power of resistance of the landed nobility, that created the revolutionary military domination, and finally led to the dictatorship of a victorious general, Cromwell.

The end of the 18th century found a well developed commerce between European nations, and the French revolution convulsed all Europe; but its liberating efforts found only a weak echo. The convulsion was a result of the war which the united monarchs of Europe led against the one republic and from which there rose in France military domination and the empire of a victorious general, Napoleon.

Now, at the beginning of the 20th century, international relations have become so close that the beginning of the revolution in Russia was enough to awaken the enthusiastic echo in the proletariat of the whole world, to quicken the tempo of the class struggle, and to shake the neighboring empire of Austria to its foundations.

As a consequence any coalition of European powers against the revolution, such as took place in 1793, is unconceivable. Austria is at the present absolutely incapable of any strong external action. In France the proletariat is already strong enough in opposition to the government to prevent any interference for Czarism, even if the ruling powers were insane enough to think of such a thing. There is no fear of a coalition against the revolution and there is only one single power which is expected to intervene in Russia: the German Empire.



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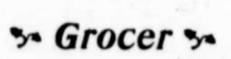
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But even the government of the German Empire may well consider before it enters upon a war that will not be a national war, but a dynastical war and as unpopular, as hated, as that which Russia led against Japan, and which may easily draw upon the German government similar internal consequences to those which that war has brought to Russia. Whatever may happen there is no occasion to expect an era of long world wars such as the French revolution ushered in, and accordingly we need not fear that the Russian Revolution will, like the former, end in a military dictatorship, or any sort of "Holy Alliance." Its promise is rather the ushering in of an era of European revolutions that will end with the dictatorship of the socialist society.

KARL KAUTSKY.
(Translated by A. M. Simons in International Socialist Review.)

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State Department

The following encouraging report is received from Comrade Murray E. King. It was crowded out last week.

"If the Glasgow movement is a sample of the movement in Montana, this state is to be congratulated. Upon my arrival from the east, January 10, I found a strong, thriving militant local of 53 members in this little town of less than 800 people. The secretary, E. W. Kamper, and the pioneer revolutionist of the place, Comrade Coster with the alert and aggressive support they have, are building up a splendid movement. Practically the entire railroad force is in line. We held meetings in the opera house January 10 and 11, and in spite of the fact that on the first date, there were four other meetings in the town, and on the following night several counter attractions, good audiences and appreciative ones came out to hear the message each night. Collections amounted to \$13 considerable literature was purchased and subscribers added to The Montana News."

A letter from Comrade R. N. Gillespie, recording secretary of the newly re-organized local at Havre, says, "Comrade King hustled the old members together and we held a good meeting, and obligated five new members. Our finances are in good shape now that we have reorganized, and we have about 20 members in good standing. This has been 'organizing week' in Havre, two locals of I. W. W. and the socialist local having been set on their feet. No doubt that as soon as the educational committees of the I. W. W. locals get busy we shall get many new members. The active members of this local have been too busy the last few days to work for subs for the News. But I hope before long to send you a good list of subscribers."

We held a special meeting tonight at which the following resolution was passed unanimously:

Resolved, that a vote of thanks be extended to Comrade King for his work while among us, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Montana News.

I enclose a check for \$6 for which please forward me two books of stamps, that the back dues may be all stamped up.

The Finn Local of Butte sends in \$12 for four books of stamps. These comrades are desperate workers. They are getting up a fund to bring a Finnish worker into the state. Nothing could be of more benefit to the socialist movement of Montana.

There are so many of those toiling slaves rolling out the precious metals of Montana, that they must be awakened to a consciousness of their condition, a revolt against it, and the knowledge that there is a remedy for it. Send the socialist message into the heart of every wage-slave who is working like a beast that others may live at ease.

Local Billings sends in an order for 50 constitutions. This local suggests that it would be a good thing to have an order of business inserted in the booklet. The suggestion is an excellent one and will be embodied in the next lot that comes off the press.

Dean local orders a hundred of the Weeks' leaflets. These never grow old. There is no more effective propaganda sheet to scatter. Mrs. John Hudson is now secretary of the local.

Comrade George T. Cramton, state secretary of Colorado, sends for the News for the Socialist headquarters at 1753 Lawrence St., Denver.

Local Norris sends in a \$6 contribution to the propaganda fund. This is the way to speed up socialist activity in Montana. It is not merely the work of the state office or the Montana News. These

executive centers can mobilize the material sent in, but the revolutionary working class of Montana, if there is any (and we know there is) must provide the material.

Comrade Comerford wants to know when an all-around worker can be sent into Madison county. Comrade King will go in there immediately after the spring elections, and tear up the ground for those farmers.

Petitions are being circulated in Helena to raise money to bring May Beals into the state the first of February. The state secretary still lacks \$25 of having enough to send for her. It is really too bad the way we have been hampered in regard to Comrade Beals' work. But the state organization has been undertaking so many enterprises this winter that this fund has fallen behind. And now the Pennsylvania comrades are trying to get her there for next summer. They are already advertising her for May. She will do more good, and have a better opportunity in Montana, than she will back there, and Montana has written her this as strenuously as possible. What we want now is a few dollars cash to settle the deal.

The Worker's club is to have a big anniversary affair on February 8, and they want her here to speak. She would then speak before the club on the following Sunday night. Helena local would hold another series of big meetings, and we would get her gloriously launched in Montana.

Comrade Wayland says she is better than most of the speakers touring at \$10 a night. If anybody has five dollars they want to send in on this deal we can use it.

We are handicapped by not having enough literature to send out for our speakers to work with. This is a serious defect as it cripples us just at the point where we need the greatest efficiency. If any enterprising socialist, who loves liberty more than lucre, cares to separate himself from \$10 for this purpose, we'll know exactly where to put it.

Helena local gives another card party in the parlors of the Worker's club, February 1. Every socialist in town should give a donation of eatables or something to get them.

On Thursday orders for 269 due stamps came in from various points in the state, representing a value of \$40.35. It was the banner day for dues in the history of the state organization.

Next week we shall have a most admirable and practical article on the farmer question from the pen of J. Frank Mabie. Comrades wishing bundles for sampling should order in advance. Comrade Mabie is also preparing a digest of A. M. Simons' "American Farmer," which we shall publish shortly.

Comrade Hazlett was at Alhambra Thursday and Friday nights. We shall hold more meetings there in the old N. P. depot in about a month.

The report of Local Great Falls for November and December states that 12 were admitted, total on roll 35, total receipts \$80.50, paid out \$90.95.

We expect to have Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Lewis with us next spring. They are hummers, especially in the way of taking collections and selling literature. Moreover they are two of the most scholarly workers we have in the movement, and consequently devoid of all freakisms based on ignorance. At a recent meeting in Los Angeles Comrade Arthur Lewis had a collection of \$17.80, and sold literature to the amount of \$30.50. Such work will be a wonderful help in Montana which is

most responsive to any effort.

A private letter informs us that Mrs. Lewis, who has been ill at a sanitarium in Los Angeles, is improving.

The unions of Livingston combined with the socialists held memorial exercises for Red Sunday. Twelve dollars were raised for the Russian fund.

Saturday evening, Jan. 27, Local Livingston gives a supper and card party. They are always doing things at Livingston. Their paper list is now just three behind Great Falls.

Frank Mabie is now headed toward Helena taking subs for the News, stopping at Bozeman and intermediate towns on the way. He keeps shoving in names here every day, and the way that list is climbing is a caution.

That stalwart standby, A. J. McDonald of Moore, sends in another list of five this week.

We omit some of the departments this week to make room for the matter apropos to the anniversary season. Next week we hope to bring up party news, and other important matter and communications pertaining to the movement, that have been unavoidably neglected the past few weeks.

The News is attracting considerable attention among our exchanges both near and far both in the way of complimentary notices, and in direct use of our material. While it has not been our policy to make any cheap flaunting of these tributes to the solid character of the Montana paper. We may note here that among our contemporaries quoting articles either entire or in parts are: "The Union Sentinel," Reading, Pa., "Labor," St. Louis, "Miner's Magazine," Denver, Colorado, "Common Sense," Los Angeles, "Socialist," Edinburgh, Scotland, while the "Appeal to Reason," "Toledo Socialist," "New Time," "Social Democratic Herald," and the "Worker" have all given cordial words of greeting to the new party venture of a state owned paper. As a tribute to the suggestive feature of the idea we note that the New York comrades have issued a proposal to issue the daily "Call" as a paper owned by the Socialist Party of the state.

Comrade Cragg blew in from Lewistown this week. He was loaded with subs and orders for literature, and job work. He contributed \$2 to the May Beals fund, and otherwise made us feel that socialism was treading a flowery path.

The last circular issued by the 8-hour committee of the Typographical union contains Parry's disgusting mouthing on the strike. He urges the Typothetae to a "courageous stand," and says in three months the battle will be practically won for the open shop.

Lessons From the Russian Uprising

(Continued from page 1.)

other hundred years—as I hope it will not—then this country will be on a level with China and Russia, politically, and perhaps economically.

Second, do not expect anything from riots and bloodshed before the minds of the people are revolutionized. You must have a majority of the people with you, even after a bloody victory, in order to make the results of the revolution last.

But to the capitalist class I would give this warning: A revolution is certain to come sooner or later. Let it be an evolutionary revolution. Let it be a Social-Democratic revolution, which means organization and order. There is no doubt always a possibility of volcanic eruptions. They may be put down once twice, or ten times, put down in the very blood of the participants. Yet the cause of a progressive people will not be lost, because there will still be untold millions to take it up again and again—people who have nothing to lose but their chains. But if the capitalist class should lose the fight once and even only once, they will lose all.

Even if the revolution should be unsuccessful and the old condition of things return, the individual capitalists or their descendants will never receive back what they have lost. And the probabilities are that they will lose their lives and also their families. That is just what happened in so many instances in the great French Revolution to the feudal aristocracy, although most of the achievements of that revolution did not stand.—Social-Democratic Herald.

STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The state constitutions are being printed. They reflect credit on the Montana organization. The state must remember that while the organization would like to furnish them free somebody must pay the cost. Every member should carry a constitution and study its provisions. It is through the constitutions, platforms, and regulations of the Socialist party that the barricades are raised against the political control of the capitalist class. They make an attractive looking booklet in their bright red cover. Each copy has a blank page in the front outlined for data as to the name of the local, date of meeting, time, place, dues, secretaries and other convenient matter, making it almost as good as a membership card. The little brochure also contains suggested rules to govern county central committees. No rules have as yet been adopted by the state organization governing county committees.

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