

# BRUTAL ASSAULT BY MAYOR OF DEER LODGE

## The Warden of The State Penitentiary Knocks Down an Inoffensive Real Estate Man for Handing Montana News to a Friend Outraged Justice Fines The Brute Twenty Five Dollars

### CONVICT LABOR GET RICH SCHEMES Frank Conley Uses Political Prestige to Boost His Private Enterprises. White Peonage in Montana, Organized Labor has to Compete against it

The convicts of Montana are not farmed out to the highest bidder, as in some states but Montana allows the warden to work the convicts of Montana to create wealth for the firm of Conley & McTague; Frank Conley of the foregoing firm being the warden of the penitentiary.

Some time ago a convict, released from the pen, came to Helena and reported that convicts are being used to build frame houses in Deer Lodge. An investigation was started which disclosed the fact that convicts had built eleven cottages, and partly finished two more for the firm of Conley & McTague. The houses were built entirely by convict labor except the brick chimneys. Convicts were sent up in the mountains to cut down the trees, which they hauled to a saw mill operated by convicts, where the lumber was manufactured and dressed. The finished lumber was then loaded in wagons by convicts and transported to the city of Deer Lodge; convicts—who were trustees—doing the work of the teamsters.

#### Convicts Dig Cellars.

The excavation for the cellars and foundations of the houses was done by convicts, and the concrete mixed and foundations laid. Convicts did the carpenter work and finished the houses, even doing the papering and painting, fixing up the yards, digging the ditches of the water supply and sewer connections.

Complaints were filed with the Secretary of the State of Montana at the state capital, and after some delay the convicts were called off the houses and the word was sent out from the state capital that Conley was only having the houses built for the accommodation of the prison guards, as the pay of the guards was so small and house rents so high that the guards had a hard time to make both ends meet, and that Warden Conley was so philanthropic that he decided to build a few houses for the guards and rent same to the guards at a small sum; thereby equalizing matters up a little for the guards and giving them a chance to live. However, this was only a smooth talk given out by Attorney General Galen and his colleagues at the state capital in order

to protect Warden Conley who has done valiant political services for Senator Carter and Attorney General Galen.

#### Convicts Work with Union Men.

The matter of convict labor was allowed to rest for some time but was again put in operation. Last August more houses were built by convict labor or at least partially. Carpenters were hired, but convicts helped. Convicts did some of the lathing on the houses and mixed the mortar, and convicts did all the digging of ditches in the streets of Deer Lodge for the water supply to the houses and for sewer connections. This was witnessed by a representative of the News and just lately a large building was erected by convicts.

#### Union Convicts Threatened with Dungeon.

When the first houses were built by the convicts there were union men in the state prison who were carpenters and they objected to working on the houses, claiming that it was in opposition to their union principles. The union men who were unfortunate enough to be convicts were informed that if they did not proceed to use their craft skill in building the houses that they would be put in the dungeon, so they decided to do as the guards ordered.

#### Dungeons of the Inquisition.

The dungeon at the state prison is an unsanitary underground cell and is entirely unlighted. It has concrete walls and floor and is very cold, being unheated. When prisoners are put in the dungeon it is usually for a period of thirty days and the diet is bread and water. When prisoners are put in the dungeon they are manacled before hand, and when in that condition and taken underground out of sight of human eyes or hearing, many a one has been maltreated and abused by guards who desired to wreak out a vengeance on some poor unfortunate.

Some of the underground cells have a mattress, some have not; some have blankets, some have not; and it all depends on the whims or feelings of the guard on duty whether they get

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Frank Conley, the Warden of the State Penitentiary and the Mayor of Deer Lodge, the city where the Penitentiary is situated, while filled with rage over the exposition of his illegal graft by the Montana News, brutally assaulted a reputable business man on the streets of Deer Lodge for distributing the News, knocking him down and injuring him so severely that it was reported that he had to be taken to a hospital.

John Shawbut, a real estate dealer is the man who was so viciously attacked by this inhuman brute, who evidently thought he was inside the Penitentiary and slugging convicts. It is said that Conley carried a club in his right hand. Descriptions of Conley state that he is a bulky, massive brute, weighing over 200 pounds.

Mr. Shawbut, the victim of the prison boss' ferocity, is a man small in stature, and rather sickly, weighs 148 pounds, and is in his 58th year, physically no match for a brute like the Warden.

Mr. Shawbut had his assailant arrested; and the keeper of convicts, who had himself become a criminal, was fined \$25.00 and costs for beating up an inoffensive citizen who dared to disapprove of his public acts, and was handing a paper to a friend.

Mr. Shawbut was seen by a News reporter, and made a statement, substantially as follows:

"The assault occurred Saturday evening, January 8th, about eight o'clock. I had come down town after supper and meeting a friend at the post office, he handed me several copies of the Montana News. I gave three or four to different parties and had one in my pocket, and was standing on the sidewalk talking with a man when Conley came along, stopped in front of me and said: 'You are peddling papers now, are you?' I said: 'Why not?', whereupon he called me a foul name, at the same time striking me in the face with his fist, knocking me down. That is the true account of it.

"I was completely surprised and dazed but got up in a few seconds and without further words, went to a hotel nearby, washed the blood from my nose and mouth and went home where I stayed for two days, reducing the swelling on my face before I was presentable.

"In the meantime I hear that Conley has a divergent version to the effect that when I said 'Why not?', he said 'I have a notion to strike you', upon which, he says, I replied, 'Strike me', and stepped toward him, whereupon he struck me. His version is not true; I did not move from my tracks nor make a motion toward him.

You can readily see why he should wish his story to be believed. It would be a defense in case I had him arrested for assault, and also to excuse himself before the public for an assault by a man of his size, upon a man like me, weighing 148 pounds and in my 58th year, for handling a few copies of the News."

### WAGE WORKERS MUST PAY TRIBUTE TO CAESAR

Mayor Conley, Warden of the State Prison, has commenced to retaliate on the merchants of Deer Lodge for signing an agreement with the Clerks' Union, which in an indirect way is an attack on all the people of Deer Lodge.

Conley owns considerable property in the business section of Deer Lodge; in fact he is the Great Caesar of the town, and now proposes that the merchants shall pay him fifty per cent more rent for the store they rent from him than they used to do.

It would seem that Conley thinks that if the merchants can afford to give an increase in wages to their employees that they can afford to pay him a raise in rents.

Some time ago Conley had his agent draw up forms of a lease covering two years' tenancy of stores in Deer Lodge, and left copies of the

lease with the various merchants of Deer Lodge to sign. The agent never called for the papers or waited for merchants to sign the lease contracts. Some of the merchants signed the copies of the lease contracts and mailed same to Conley to have him sign them; the merchants to retain a copy and Conley a copy after the papers had been signed by both parties to the contract. Conley has held the papers up and did not fill his part of the contract in signing the leases and never returned the duplicate copy to the merchants. This happened some three months ago.

In the meantime a strike of the clerks took place for higher wages and the merchants of Deer Lodge were in favor of granting the same until the Great Caesar commenced to bulldoze. However, the strike was settled favorably to the clerks, and

### HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO OWN A BONANZA FARM IN MONTANA

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

The next issue of the Montana News will tell all about Peonage in Montana. Order extra copies for distribution, as this issue of the News will be a hummer.

Have your Union order a bundle of the Montana News telling all about Convict Labor in Montana. The Montana News will expose the greatest graft in the state in its next issue.

Did you know that Convict Labor exists in Montana? For further details read next week's Montana News. Every Union man should read it. Ten thousand extra copies of the News should be distributed among the Union men.

The convicts at the Penitentiary of the State of Montana are being used to compete against free labor, for the benefit of the Warden of the State Prison who uses them to make money for himself. The prisoners are employed as lumber jacks, saw millmen, carpenters, painters, building and street laborers, teamsters, dairymen, and farmers to create wealth for the man who is employed at \$3,000 a year by the state to manage the State Prison.

It is time that Organized Labor knew the facts and took a decided stand to put a stop to this kind of graft and to offset an attempt that is going to be made to start convict labor in Montana for the benefit of some corporations.

Do you want to know of the great bonanza farm in Montana operated by convicts?

Do you know that one hospital in Montana supported exclusively by money kept from the wages of railway men, gets its supply of butter from the Penitentiary Creamery?

Do you know that union men who are inmates of the State Prison were threatened with solitary confinement in the dungeon, on bread and water diet, if they persisted in refusing to use their craftsmanship in the building of houses in the city of Deer Lodge?

Do you know that one man receives all the products of the toil of the convicts in the Montana State Prison?

This series of articles on convict labor will be continued next week. We are going to make a full expose of the State Prison graft as it exists in Montana. The article this week is just the first of what the Deer Lodge workers have dubbed the "Bonanza Series".

Bring this matter before your union and see if your organization will order a bundle for distribution among the union men of Montana. We will send the Montana News in bundles to any address for ONE CENT a copy.

Send in your orders for extra copies at once. Let the facts be known. Stop this imposition on free labor at once. Put an end to convict labor.

Send all orders for extra copies to the Montana News, Helena, Mont. Box 908

the union. Conley now decides to have revenge and has notified the merchants of Deer Lodge that, commencing on Feb. 1st 1910, they shall pay tribute to Caesar to the extent of an increase of rent to the amount of from forty to fifty per cent.

The rents in Deer Lodge are very high now, even to the extent of being exorbitant, and the present threatened increase of rent taken together with the increase of wages to the store clerks means that the merchants will have to increase the price of the necessities of life and that the working people will have to pay the tribute to Caesar.

Conley works the convicts of Montana for the purpose of creating wealth for the firm of Conley & McTague, and now he proposes to make the wage workers of Deer Lodge and vicinity work and create wealth for the firm of Conley & McTague also.

The wage workers of Deer Lodge will now have the pleasure of turning their pay checks over to the Warden of the State Prison through the collecting agency of the merchants of Deer Lodge.

Conley & McTague, you have made slaves of the convicts of Montana; you have made the convicts compete with wage labor in order that they create wealth for you. It is a great graft. Oh, so easy. Not content with the nice graft you have received from the officials of the state of Montana for the political services you have rendered to your boss Senator Tom Carter & Co., you now propose to graft on the hard working wage slaves of the Milwaukee railroad.

Conley has started this fight against the unions and organized labor will be in the fight at the finish. Organ-

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THREE REVOLUTIONISTS.

The News office had a visit last week from three of the Industrial Workers of the World who are conducting the street fight in Spokane. They were John Jones, the husband of Gurley Flynn, Stark, who went through the thirty-day jail siege on bread and water, and McKeivey.

The three were on their way to various industrial camps and centers to stir up the workers for the purpose of going into Spokane in the spring and continuing to fight for Free Speech. Comrade Jones said they wanted to raise an army of ten thousand men and women to go into Spokane and make the test in the spring.

Their stop at Helena had nothing in it that was very encouraging to the cause of freedom or liberty in any direction. The socialist local, with the usual do-nothing policy which characterizes the Montana locals, was not to be jarred out of its placidity by such an ephemeral matter as the fact that innocent men were being clubbed into insensibility by the police, their benches broken, a worker's paper confiscated, a union hall demolished. One member, not a worker at all, was full of would-be philosophical arguments as to the propriety of their resistance; another was afraid of offending his union if he assisted them. The fact that the largest and most influential socialist locals in the country had held meetings, contributed funds and passed resolutions on the atrocities against the Industrial Workers failed to awaken a responsive chord. Duggan had shocked them by averting his belief against political action, and suffering workers were as nothing in the balance against a theory.

The News has little enough to give, but the three Free Speechers were given a bed on the couch in the office, and a lunch of what the bakery afforded was in readiness when they came in.

Comrade Jones had some interesting information about his practical work of the Industrial Workers. He says the bitterness of the fight put up by the Spokane authorities is because of the influence the I. W. W. has exerted against the big lumber interests. Spokane is a sort of a central basin that drains the lumber section of the northwest, and into which the idle lumbermen drift. Here they imbibe the doctrines of the I. W. W. When they go to work in the camps they agitate cutting the hours down to six a day. They pace their work from the slowest man in the camp, so as to force the hiring of more men. They expose the lies and misrepresentations of the employment sharks when they are advertising for men; and in this way they have brought upon themselves the deadly enmity of all the capitalist forces.

The News may not be in entire sympathy with the tenets and modus operandi of the I. W. W. But it has this to say—their methods are at least drawing some fires of action and revolt, some little co-operative interest among the down-and-outs, the submerged unfortunates of the great social injustice. These carry the message with them and a leaven is formed in this inert and hopeless mass. And we certainly are needing some sort of thinking, pushing leaven in the minds of American workers.

We do not know that so much fuss over just the right to exercise one's lungs on the street

is worth the while. Just talking on the street does not necessarily bring more liberty with it. Liberty must reside in the institutions of human living, and these do not come through just talking. The street talking has been the chief feature of our American propaganda for ten years, and the majority of the locals have done nothing else—absolutely nothing accomplished in their city effects. The writer has done perhaps as much street work in the last ten years as any speaker in the party, and for a number of years she has seriously questioned in her own mind its permanent efficiency. There are other things that need to be done to help the working class besides barking on the street. What is wanted is a strong local force and influence coming into city government, and removing obnoxious obstacles in the way of democratic administration.

Then again I do not believe in women who have taken upon themselves the burdens and responsibilities of maternity placing themselves in such a position or going into such action as might interfere with and jeopardize the best welfare of the new life—at least unless they are forced by unavoidable circumstances into such attitude. It is unnatural for motherhood to seek such dangers, and inhuman for men to permit it—much less exploit it for the sake of strengthening a cause. And the writer of this is a woman, and one not given to an adherence to useless conventionalities. This does not say or mean that the Spokane fight should be abandoned. We believe when once in a thing in going through. And an airing of the hollowness of democratic pretensions in the hands of oppressors is thoughtful food for all.

The "People" has used up almost a column raving over the Montana News' "yellow journalism" over the I. W. W. fight. It need not be alarmed. We are giving the news as it happens, where it concerns the workers. We take that to be the province of a working class press.

Socialist Mayor Called by Death. Anaconda, Mont., Dec. 28, 1909. Editor Montana News: I enclose you a clipping from the Anaconda Standard on the death of Socialist Mayor John W. Frinke. This is the way the Standard speaks of him when dead; it had no word of protest when Frinke was being persecuted and boycotted by the Amalgamated Copper Co. At one time, if I am correctly informed, the company placed a spotter to watch his shop and anyone seen to patronize him was blue carded and fired.

None of the company officials ever were under jail sentence like Gompers for their persecution of Frinke. Local Anaconda S P

John W. Frinke. Yesterday morning the long illness of John W. Frinke, former mayor of Anaconda, ended fatally. Not long ago—just a few months ago—in the very prime of vigorous manhood, he moved among his townsmen, with whom he had become a familiar figure, as one to whom life and health seemed to be assured for years to come. His rapid decline was deeply regretted; the tidings of his death spread a feeling of profound sorrow over the city.

John W. Frinke was as fair and square a man as ever lived among these mountains. He answered that description by every test—in impulse, in motive, in conduct. His heart was in the right place, and, what was of chief account along with that fact, his judgment was excellent. His experience was quite out of the ordinary run. He was one of the old-time residents of Anaconda. During many years he trudged patiently along life's routine way, working zealously at his trade, attracting no attention by anything he said or did, known to comparatively few, content, so far as public affairs are concerned, to be in the background.

As the result of unusual local conditions and altogether contrary to the expectation of the great majority of his fellow citizens, Mr. Frinke was elected mayor of Anaconda, although not the candidate of either of the regular political parties then existing. He never before had been heard of or thought of in connection with civic responsibility. Under the circumstances, nobody knew what was going to happen. The rest of the story is known. It is local history; and no Montana city ever had a better executive officer.

When Mr. Frinke became mayor he moved suddenly into a new sphere; he found himself amid surroundings and

duties and responsibilities to which he was unaccustomed. He acquitted himself admirably. To begin with, as an American citizen he was broadly intelligent. And there was more than that. He wanted the right thing done. He wanted, in all official relations to do the right thing; and, in uncommon degree, with him the perception of what was right and just and best seemed to be like an intuition. He served well, and he did this without thought of publicity or desire for the trumpeting of his commendable official acts. He was a man of extreme modesty; reserve, amounting fairly in shyness, was a trait that characterized him.

In brief, as we well know he would wish words spoken of him, the life of our dead townsman illumines this practical proposition: If you are in public station, you can go right down among those whom we are accustomed to call "the plain people"—among those not talked about or thought about for civic responsibility—and if you are fortunate enough to hit upon a man like John W. Frinke, you will pick one who is honest, capable, competent and high-minded. For he was as steadfast in duty as is the fixed star's light, as trusty as the needle within its compass casing. So, in truth, it can be written of him.

Condemn Writers on Daily Papers. Belt, Mont., Dec. 21, 1909. Montana News, Helena, Mont.

At the regular meeting of Local Union No. 370, U. M. W. of A., the following resolution was adopted.

Whereas, the daily press of this country has teemed with reports of the strike on different lines of railroad the writers in the daily journals have pictured famine in many places in order that the public mind might be aroused against the men who had the temerity to demand better conditions from the railroad corporations. The salaried officials of the railroad companies were not assailed by the journalists for their refusal to make concessions to men who feel that a higher cost of living demands a higher wage. A daily press with its prolific writers seem to delight in heralding the news that at this and that place the railroad companies are importing strike breakers to usurp the places of men who gave battle for better conditions and for a schedule of wages that would secure a few more of the necessities of life.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we condemn the action of the daily journalists or would-be capitalists, and also the board of commerce or would-be capitalists that is always upholding the corporations and downing the working man, the producer of all wealth. So take warning, you journalists or would-be capitalists, your action is opening the eyes of the working class, be it further

Resolved, that we extend our sympathy to the striking switchmen, and that we appeal to all workers to unite into one solid industrial union which stands for a principle that what is an injury to one, is an injury to all, and do away forever with the system that creates millionaires and tramps, be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the "Appeal to Reason," the "Montana News," and Great Falls "Labor News" for publication. M. J. MORRIS, D. E. SULLIVAN, JOHN DEGNAN, Committee.

JOHN LANDER, Secy.

Convict Labor Get Rich Schemes

(Continued from First Page.)

a bed or a blanket during the time they are confined to the dungeon. Under such conditions as these, it was little wonder that the inmates of the state prison who were imbued with unionism decided to build the houses for the warden of the penitentiary.

Conley's Income of \$600 off Convicts.

There are thirty-two houses in Deer Lodge that have been built wholly or in part by convict labor and are being rented by Warden Conley for \$20.00 a month. When a representative of the News was in Deer Lodge there were thirty cottages of Conley rented for \$20.00, making an income of \$600 per month from the product of convict labor; and it was reported that if any houses were vacated the rent was to be increased to \$25.00 a month.

Are we in Russia, Mexico or Montana?

What state of affairs is this, that allows the warden of the penitentiary who is custodian of the state prisoners to work the convicts to create wealth for himself and to compete with wages labor? It is high time that organized labor was making its power felt and putting an end to such peonage in the state of Montana.

Such abuses grow up under an irresponsible control of public affairs where the great mass have nothing to say, and know nothing of what is going on.

Under such a condition of affairs a man like Conley and his co-conspirators can work both sides of the political pull without much chance of being halted unless insurgency breaks out in the political ranks. The workers have not yet dared to assert themselves politically.

Query: Why do the people elect Conley Mayor of Deer Lodge?

SOCIALISTS WANT A FARM.

A couple of socialists who wish to better their condition would like to locate a homestead or get hold of some cheap land in Idaho, Montana or Washington. They would be pleased to hear from any socialist who knows of any good land open for settlement, and are willing to pay for the trouble in securing the information. Address: Homesteader, care Montana News, Helena, Mont.

Subscribe for The Little Socialist Magazine and teach your children properly from the cradle up. 50 CENTS A YEAR 15 Spruce Street, NEW YORK.

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BOOKS TO READ ON SOCIALISM

To be Obtained from Montana News

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Woman Under Socialism By AUGUST BEBEL, One of the Greatest Leaders of the German Socialist Movement. The Greatest Work Ever Written on the Woman Question. THIS IS THE BOOK THAT BISHOP CARROLL ATTACKED IN HIS MISSOULA SERMON. Cloth, 400 Pages, PRICE ONE DOLLAR Order from the Montana News

Don't you want some socialist envelopes? The Montana News prints them in red ink—only 65 cents a hundred. Make Uncle Sam distribute your socialist propaganda. Do you know of any job work, or any printing of any kind that you could just as well get for a worker's print shop as for a capitalist shop? If so send it in to the News. Remember, the "Mills of Mammon" for 10 subs. Try this deal and see if you don't say you are well paid for your work. Send the champion of the working class leaping skyward, and get a book free that you can give to benighted workers and teach them the horrors produced by the system they are voting for, and the remedy. Order your Job Work NOW.

Poet's Corner

The Homeless.

'Midst the endless din of the city, On the surging and crowded street Are thousands of men and women Who hasten with weary feet.

To cheerless rooms, in dwellings That loom in gloomy pride Of showy front and cornice, And are lonely and blank inside.

These are the city's homeless, The army of desolate souls, Who toll with brain or sinew, Or wait while the slow day rolls.

Sometimes with the barest pittance To eke out the aimless strife, Sometimes with luxurious comforts To lighten the burden of life.

But homeless—and desolation Dwells ever in deepening glooms, With those whom home has forsaken, And who live in rented rooms.

No cheerful heart's glad welcome, No greeting smile at the door, No watching face at the window, No children at play on the floor.

No chubby hands in your pockets, No curly head on your breast, No lullaby low and tender To soothe a world to rest.

No gentle questions and answers, Across the table at tea, No eyes that look love into your eyes, Sweet love and endearments to see.

But only the same dull story That is told each night and morn, With no one who cares to know it, And the busy world's careless scorn.

No wonder the fierce temptation To yield to the toils of shame; Human wrecks tossed in the chaos Some human throbs to claim.

Oh, you who go from your labors To the sacred joys of Home, Think you with heavenly charity Of those who the wide world roam.

With never a cord to draw them Away from the paths of sin, With the night and the storm without, And the storm and the night within. IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

SPECIAL AND IMPORTANT.

Chicago, Jan. 12, 1916.

Comrade Secretary: In the matter of making out reports upon the election of national officers, a very serious responsibility rests upon you to see that a large number of members are not disfranchised.

Each individual ballot must contain the figures from "1" to "27", no duplicate numbers should appear, the name of each and every candidate for the National Executive Committee must have one of the above numbers in front of it. The Constitution makes it mandatory that you throw out each incorrect individual ballot. To include one will make the entire report defective.

The same name appears in different positions on different ballots, and (Brown) and (Jones) may each appear fourth from the top on different ballots. Therefore ignore the positions and note carefully each name when assembling the votes for your report.

In transcribing your report from the individual ballots, always start with the name which appears at the top of the blank ballot which you are using as a report sheet. If Jones is at the top of your sheet, start with (Jones) and then follow in alphabetical order the candidates on that ballot till you come back to Jones.

The actual figures voted for each candidate must be added together to make that candidate's total on your report. On five ballots Brown and Jones get votes as follows, and consequently have the following totals:

Table with 2 columns: BROWN, JONES. Rows show vote counts for each candidate across five ballots.

At the very bottom of the report sheet state "number of members voting"—12, 17, or 29 as the case may be.

The figures from "1" to "27" added together gives each member a voting power of 378. Ten voters will cast a total of 3,780 votes.

When you have the total vote for each candidate in front of his name on your report sheet, add up the entire column. Your report is proven correct if the total amounts to 378 for each member voting. In other words, if 12 members vote, the total must be 12 times 378; if 17 members vote, the total must be 17 times 378.

Hoping that the above explanation

will be found of service and keep many mistakes out of the report sent to the State and National Headquarters, I am Fraternally yours, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

Note.—There being only one candidate for National Secretary, the figure "1" or an "X" mark will be sufficient. A blank ballot for National Secretary will not invalidate the vote for Members of the National Executive Committee, if said vote is properly cast.

Lesson V.—The Economics of Capitalism. . . 4.

We have noted that capitalism is essentially an expanding system. Its expansion is closely connected with the accumulation of capital.

The Origin of Capital.—The amount of capital needed in the early stages of capitalism was comparatively small. This original capital was provided partly from the hoarded wealth of feudal proprietors and medieval merchants; more largely by expropriation of peasants, spoliation of guilds and monasteries, and plundering or enslavement of conquered peoples—Mexicans, Peruvians, East Indians, Negroes, etc.

The Accumulation of Capital.—The industrial plant is continually being enlarged—more machinery installed, more mills, factories, and railroads built and equipped, more mines opened, etc., and more wage workers employed. This increase of capital is paid for chiefly out of surplus value realized from past operation of capital—i. e., it is effected by capitalists reinvesting part of the rent, interest, and profit they have derived from the past labor of the wage workers. (This is supplemented to some extent by investment of savings of the middle classes—farmers, professionals, independent artisans, etc.; but the amount of this is comparatively small.)

Capital increases more rapidly than did the productive plant of any previous system, for several reasons. First, free wage workers are more diligent and efficient workers than workers exploited by any other method; having nothing but wages to live by, in competing for employment they drive themselves more effectively, than bailiffs or overseers could drive serfs or slaves. Second, they use power-driven machinery instead of hand tools and this further multiplies their productive power. Third, their competition prevents their wages from rising in proportion to their product. Thus the capitalists derive a vastly greater surplus from a number of wage workers than could lords or planters from a like number of serfs or slaves, and consequently they have a larger surplus from which to spare for adding to the plant. Further, while the use of machinery and competition among the workers enable the capitalists to reinvest largely, competition among the capitalists compels them to do so. In general, the larger the capital in any establishment, the less is the cost of production—because of the use of better machinery, better organization of processes, less waste of power, materials, and labor, etc. Hence, when one capitalist enlarges and improves his plant, his competitors must do the same or he will get part of their trade. Capital as a whole must grow, because those enterprises which do not grow are destroyed in competition. The increase of capital goes at an accelerating rate, because each increment of capital increases the amount of surplus-value which in turn facilitates further increase of capital.

Constant and Variable Capital.—Capital may be divided into two parts, both of which are used in different proportions in every enterprise. Variable capital is that portion devoted to the purchase of labor-power, to the payment of wages. Constant capital is that part which is embodied in buildings, machinery, materials, etc. In the process of accumulation, constant capital increases more than does variable capital. This means that the whole mass of capital increases faster than does the amount paid in wages; in other words, there is a continual increase in the amount of capital necessary to employ a given number of workers in the most profitable manner.

Capital and Product.—The increase of capital causes an increase of product. The increase of product is less than the increase of capital, but it is greater than the increase in the number of workers. In other words, the purpose and effect of the accumulation of capital is to increase the amount of product per workman. The increase of product is also greater than the increase of total wages. Taking the capitalist period as a whole, rates of wages have increased; during some portions of this period they have increased rapidly, at other times more slowly, at some times remaining stationary or even falling. But never for any considerable time do wage rates rise so rapidly as to cause the increase of total

wages to equal the increase in the product. Should they do so, the effect would be to check the accumulation of capital, so checking the growth of opportunities of employment, and thus sending wages down again. Consequently, not only do these capitalists care in an ever larger product, but they get an ever larger proportion of this larger product.

The fact of a slowly declining rate of interest is often misinterpreted as indicating a reduction in the capitalists' share of the product and an increase in the workers' share. It indicates nothing of the sort, for (a) interest is drawn upon an amount of capital which is growing more rapidly than the rate of production rises; (b) the rate of production is rising more rapidly than the rate of interest falls; (c) a decline in the rate of interest does not prevent a rise in the rate of profit—i. e., the rate of return to direct possessors of capital; and (d) rent rises simultaneously with the decline in the rate of interest. In fact, the total income of the capitalists increases more rapidly than the total income of the wage workers, and it absorbs the greater part of the increase of product. So rapid is this growth of capitalist income that the need for an ever larger increasing reinvestment does not prevent the capitalists from having an ever increasing revenue left to be spent in luxury. On the contrary, in recent years, the great complaint of the capitalist class as a whole has no longer been how to get enough for the necessary increase of capital, but how to find sufficient opportunities for profitable investment.

Reinvestment and Capitalist Consumption.—The capitalist may consume his income—i. e., spend it in luxury, philanthropy, etc.; he may use it in increasing capital—i. e., reinvest it, usually by the purchase of stocks and bonds; or, as is generally the case, he may divide it between the two purposes. The ratio in which the income of the capitalist class as a whole is divided varies continually under many influences. Census statistics for 1890-1900 indicate that about one-fifth of the capitalist income from the manufacturing industries in the United States was reinvested in those industries; besides this, a considerable amount was undoubtedly invested in commercial, financial, railway, mining, and other enterprises in the United States, and another portion in capitalist enterprises of various kinds in more backward countries—Mexico, South America, Russia, China, etc.

When capitalists as a whole tend to reinvest too much of their income, the rate of return on capital falls abnormally and discourages further investment; when they tend to reinvest too little, the rate of return rises and encourages more liberal investment. Thus the accumulation of capital regulates itself in proportion to the opportunities presented by technical and social development, in such a manner as to give the capitalists the largest possible share of the product.

Organization of Capitalist Ownership.—In the beginning, capitalist property was individual property in the full sense, implying also individual control. But with the growing need for larger units of capital, first in foreign commerce, then in machine industry, came partnerships and then joint stock companies. The latter is now the general form of capitalist organization for industry, commerce, finance, and even to a great extent for holding real estate.

Persons forming a company receive stocks in proportion to the capital they put in. Membership is impersonal, depending on ownership of stocks, which may be bought and sold at will. The company's business is conducted by a directorate, elected by and acting for the membership. The members' voting power and share of the profits are proportionate to the stocks they own. Members are not individually responsible for the company's debts beyond the amount of their respective stocks.

The capital thus furnished by stockholders and owned by the company is commonly supplemented by capital which the company borrows through the sale of bonds, on which it undertakes to pay a specified rate of interest. Bonds, like stocks, may be bought and sold at will by individuals.

This form of organization renders capital highly mobile. By selling stocks and bonds a company can enlist the capital, large or small, of many persons who take no active part in the business, and yet can preserve a control as centralized as that of an individual proprietor.

Questions for Review.

- 1. What is capital? Distinguish between capital and means of production.
2. What governs wages? What effect does a cheapening of food and rates?
3. What is surplus-value? What is the relation between product, wages, and surplus-value?

Wage Workers Must Pay Tribute to Caesar

(Continued from First Page.)

ized labor has grown too big in America to let a two by four, petty, grafting politician wipe them out of existence.

The Clerks' Union of Butte have the matter under advisement and unless Conley & McTague quit the fight there will be something doing.

The next legislature will in all likelihood contain one or more socialists in its membership and there will be a hot time in the state capital when the socialist representatives go to the bar.

All we have to say to Conley at the present is in the language of Shakespeare:

"Lay on MacDug and damned be he who says, Hold, enough."

Organized Labor of Butte Acts on Switchmen's Strike.

The following resolutions by the Montana State Federation of Labor, and the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council show that labor is demanding of the authorities that they act in the interest of the dictates of humanity: To the Honorable City Council, Butte, Montana.

RESOLUTION.

The Montana Federation of Labor, the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council, representatives of organized labor in Butte and in the state of Montana, at this time petition your body to act upon request of organized labor, to the end that your efforts may be cast in the direction from which some good may come in an attempt to bring about harmonious conditions as between the switchmen's union and the railroad companies. The situation as it now exists throughout the North West has become unbearable to thousands of innocent people, suffering is seen and known to be on every hand in all the many points affected by the strike situation, yet nothing has yet been done to alleviate this condition, existing now over a month.

Workingmen of the Switchmen's Union and those engaged in that phase of dangerous labor, are unable to longer stand the unbearable conditions that have been imposed upon them at the hands of their employers, and now exhibit that spirit of manhood which would rather die in misery than to again resume the unbearable conditions, to better which they were compelled to quit their labor. It is not the part of Americans, of men, of toilers, to compel other toilers to resume such unbearable toil, it is not the part of citizens to compel such slavery. It is their duty to, as citizens, demand that all the processes of law that may or can be invoked, be brought to bear upon the issue that is before us, to demand that the governor of this state, the railroad commissioners of this state, the interstate commission, sitting at Washington, D. C., be sent a request from all the citizens of Butte represented in your aldermanic council, asking through your body, and the officers as above mentioned: That all possible and lawful means be adopted at the earliest moment to bring about an honorable adjustment of the existing conditions and such as will not make "scabs" the recipients of reward, or slaves of honest workingmen.

We therefore petition your body to take the actions petitioned for of the officers and officials, stated above.

Respectfully, Montana Federation of Labor, By O. M. Partelow, Sec. Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council, By Wm. O'Brien, Pres. O. M. Partelow, Sec. Committee: John Marshall, N. D. McLeod, Adolph Holst, J. P. Redman, Elencer Young, J. E. McNally.

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## LOCAL DEPARTMENT

### Socialists Attention!!

From the many letters that have come into this office since the familiar face of the News has again been greeting its old friends, we know that the workers of this section of the country want the News.

The building and developing of the socialist labor press is the work of the next ten or fifteen years among American workers.

This is what is going to solve the problem of "What is the Matter with the Socialist Party?"

We must have a workers' paper; and you, the workers of Montana and vicinity, must build it.

The most of you will never know what it has cost to get this paper going in the first place, to snatch it out of ruin when the breakers came, and what it has meant to slowly nurse it back into health once more, so that it could again pick up its championship of the workers' grievances with the old vigor.

We are making progress, but it is yet very slow.  
You do not get your paper just regularly.

The reason is that we can only get the paper out as we have money to pay the men.

When you do not get your paper on the day it ought to come, you may know there is no money in the office to go ahead with.  
And then there is the rent.

And we are trying to save the linotype machine, that we have all worked so hard for, in order that socialism and labor might have a voice, here in the home of the Amalgamated Copper Company.

It is a great thing to be able to have an equipped working class printing plant.

Will you think of these things, comrades, and think that they mean money? Will you do what you think would be the right thing to help along?

Every socialist in this state and adjacent states should support the News. There is no question whatever about this. No matter what other papers you support, you should support a strong local paper to deal with labor questions in the immediate vicinity.

It will not take you long to go out and get a list of ten subscribers for the News.

You will be surprised to see how easy it is.  
People know the News; they have always liked it.  
Comrade Graham has been gathering up the subs by the shovelful wherever he has been.

He says he is surprised at how anxious the workmen are for a working man's paper.

Union after union is sending in its subscription for a bundle.

You do not want to miss these articles on Convict Labor and Peonage in Montana.

Suppose, you get to work right away?  
Ten subs for the News  
No true revolutionist is ever a quitter.  
Yours for Freedom,

MONTANA NEWS.

### Debt of Honor

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

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

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

Total .....\$27.00  
To be raised \$500.00  
Balance to get .....\$463.00

### Bee Hive

By Tryem Helper.

One hundred and fifty new subs added to the mailing list last week. That was good. It was splendid. But what about next week? Subs are now coming in at the rate of six a day. It is well and the workers have gained another victory, but we cannot pause, we are on a steep up-hill climb, a stop, ever so slight means to lose ground. Come, Comrades, come heave, O, heave boost that six a day to twenty-five a day. You can do it. You will do it. We are depending on you. Attain this twenty-five per day and keep it up and we at this end can give you the paper you want, and regularly, too.  
Comrade Graham is a faithful, tire-

less worker. He has been boosting, what you should be doing, and it has had a marker effect on the mailing list.

The Finnish Comrades are in the front ranks of the workers. They appreciate the value of teaching socialism through a paper. The Finnish Comrades of Local Hamilton send in 15 subs.

Comrade Greely Baker of Pocatello sends in for two copies of the "Mills of Mammon".

Comrade Reely orders one, as do Comrades Carl Ross of Butte, L. George of Manhattan, and James Carr of Roundup. The book is fine. Get one, boys, it is having an immense sale and is very deserving of it. You cannot afford to be without the "Mills of Mammon".

The Working Men's Union of Anaconda sends in a bundle order for 25 copies of the News each week, and the Teamsters' Union of the same place, not to be outdone, also orders a bundle of 25. Every push helps, these help big.

Comrade Fenn of Helena enlists two dollars in the service of a good cause.

Local Deer Lodge is going to put the penitentiary expose where it will do the most good, and so orders a bundle of 125 weekly.

Don't forget to work. We depend on You individually to boost the sub list and help establish a powerful socialist press here in Montana, one of the most promising fields in the country.

Spend \$2.00 for Montana News sub cards. You'll get your money back, and send rousing socialist electricity into six ailing ones.

If you are a worker, it is your duty to support a worker's paper.

Send in your job work NOW.

Comrade Graham has done much the last few weeks in arousing organized labor to a sense of the dangers that are menacing it from the competition of convict labor that is being unloaded on the state; also the importance of a press in the possession of the workers to defend their rights with. A man who had fought the capitalist class and its encroachments on labor for twenty years in Montana comes pretty nearly knowing the problems that confront Montana workers. Comrade Graham has ever been courageous and outspoken in his defense for the workers. His talks in union halls inspire new life and action in the organized workers. They begin to see what the solidarity of mutual interest means, to see that they must be armed with a press and solid ranks. He is having calls from all over the state for union meetings. If he visits your union you will have a talk you will remember.

Here is a sample of the letters we are getting now:

Missoula, Mont. Jan. 10, 1910  
The Montana News:

Please find enclosed twenty-five cents for which send the News six months. Please send all editions since Dec. 30, '09, as I desire to follow the Deer Lodge case. Wishing the News and socialist cause all success. I am  
Yours truly

R. E. HALL,  
321 Harris, Missoula, Mont.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: I have just received the copy of the Montana News containing reply to Bishop Carroll's attack and want to thank you very much.

Am enclosing 50 cents for one year's subscription. Have been much interested in the fight at Spokane (in "The Call"). We find that the days persecution are not over, even in this so-called enlightened age and country.

With kindest regards, and the compliments of the season, I remain  
Yours Fraternally,  
LEVI W. CROUCH.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, Jan. 11, 1910  
Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlett,  
Editor Montana News, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrades. The fight in Spokane drags along and there will probably not be very much doing until the weather moderates but I am certain that the second round of this struggle will be fought in the spring when the authorities least expect it.

I have heard from my husband of your kindness to him and the fellow workers who passed through Helena and I assure you that I appreciate it very much. I am sorry I have never had a chance to meet you personally but hope that I may in the near future. I am stopping with Mrs. Fred W. Heslewood and she always speaks of you so highly that I am looking forward to meeting you as one of the very few women revolutionists we have in the northwest country.

With best wishes, I remain,  
Yours for industrial freedom,  
ELIZABETH GURLEY-FLYNN.

The first Deer Lodge edition was exhausted by the special orders before the entire subscription list was filled, so that we had to put the forms on the press and make a new run. The papers doubtless arrived safely after the short delay.

Organized Labor of Montana is outraged over Warden Conley bringing convict labor in such heavy competition against them, and is responding with tremendous orders for the News. Order a bundle and spread the report of this dastradly crime against free labor throughout your union.

If you are a true socialist you will know that it is your duty to help strengthen a working class press. You can get two subs to-day if you try.

Six orders for the "Pocket Library of Socialism" in this week, and eleven orders for the "Mills of Mammon". Montana working people are beginning to read working class literature.

Here is what a subscriber from Deer Lodge thinks of the Conley boss: "I subscribed for your paper about three weeks ago, but I have been unable to get it through the mails. The only cause that I know of is that Big Caesar still holds the right to go into the postoffice and look through any mail that he wishes and seeing the News there ordered it used to take the place of the shortage of coal which now exists in Deer Lodge."

Any books advertised in the News will be sent postpaid on receipt of price. We are going to make a speciality of our book department. The larger socialist papers are all cutting out their commercial advertising. The News has always advocated this as a correct policy, and it was only the need of shekels that caused us to vary at times. We would rather give the space to advertising literature. If you buy enough books, we will not need to take the other advertising.

The News subscription list is growing so rapidly that we have lost all attempt to keep pace with any kind of a record of it in this department. Over 400 subs have gone on within the last ten days. The earnest attempt of the News to fill the function of a true workingman's paper has called forth response on every side. A number of socialists in Butte not in the party have said to Comrade Graham the last week, "You are doing more for the working class than all the socialist locals. There are 5,000 socialists in Montana not in the party. They are tired of the do-nothing-but-quarrel policy. Some time these socialists are going to take a part in the party affairs."

Here is a partial list of some new subscriptions:  
Anaconda Workingman's Union.....25  
Anaconda Teamsters' Union.....50  
Anaconda Carpenter's Union.....50  
Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council.50

**Pledge Moral and Financial Support.**

Belt, Mont., Dec. 21, 1909.  
Montana News, Helena, Mont.

At a regular meeting of Local Union No. 370, U. M. W. of A., the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, the I. W. W. of Spokane, Washington, is fighting for free speech and press and the interest of the working class, we declare that it is the only organization that launch true unionism, What is an injury to one, is an injury to all.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we

## Books for Study Course

(Recommended by the National Executive Committee.)

THEORY—	
Socialism in Theory and Practice.—Hilquit .....	\$1.50
Social Revolution.—Kautsky .....	.50
Economic Foundations of Society.—Loria .....	1.25
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM—	
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Socialists at Work.—Hunter .....	1.50
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History of Socialism.—Kirkup .....	2.25
History of Socialism in the United States.—Hilquit .....	1.50
<b>\$15.15</b>	

COMPLETE SET \$11.00, DELIVERED FREE.

condemn all labor papers that are silent and do not uphold the principle of industrial unionism, and be it

Resolved, that we declare all craft unionism is owned and controlled by the Civic Federation, and be it further Resolved, that we give our moral and financial support to the principle of industrial unionism, be it further

Resolved, that Local Union No. 370, U. M. W. of A., on this date, donate fifty dollars (\$50) for the benefit of the down trodden slaves in Spokane, and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the "Appeal to Reason", "Montana News", Great Falls Labor News", for publication.

JOHN DEGNAN, Pres.  
JOHN LANDERS, Sec.  
M. J. MORRIS,  
M. J. SULLIVAN,  
JOHN DEGNAN,  
Committee.

**Indorse I. W. W. Fight in Spokane.**

Roundup, Mont., Dec. 27, 1909  
Montana News, Helena, Mont.

Dear Sir and Bro.  
Please insert in your valuable paper and oblige Local Union No. 2866, U. M. W. of A.:

At a regular meeting of Local Union No. 2866, U. M. W. of A., he following resolution was unanimously adopted, a copy to be sent to the Montana News for publication and a copy to be forwarded to the Industrial Workers of Spokane, Wash.:

Whereas, the right of free speech and free press is once again being annulled by the minions of capitalism in the prohibition of these our guaranteed constitutional rights to our fellow workers in the city of Spokane, Washington,

Whereas, the right of peaceful assemblage of the people of this country to protest against political, social or economic wrongs has been the prerogative of the citizens of this country from its birth, and consecrated in the blood of those lovers of freedom who willingly sacrificed all upon the altar of liberty that posterity should enjoy unrestricted the rights of free assemblage and free speech whenever and

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wherever the occasion arose and in such public places as the people could be reached, and

Whereas, there are today in the city of Spokane, Wash., hundreds of our fellow workers incarcerated in the prisons and bull pens, the barbarous institutions of capitalism, and that rights and subjects to such treatment as would make the acts of the Black League of Russia or the crimes committed against social and scientific evolution by the inquisition of Spain during the dark ages pale in insignificance and

Whereas, through all the ages liberty has only been perpetuated through the sacrifices of its volaries and further watered by the blood of tyrants governments when controlled by capitalism or ecclesiastical powers, are tyrannical from policy, therefore, subjects become rebels from principle. Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and modern capitalism by its arrogantly usurping the rights of the people through its controlled courts may meet its Waterloo through a persual of such policies as are being used in Spokane against the wage earners and eventually compel an indignant people to adopt such a reprehensive policy as will stultify the civilized world to its very foundations and forever obliterate every vestage of economic vasalage.

Therefore, be it resolved by the members of Local Union No. 2866, U. M. W. of A., Roundup, Montana, that we condemn the acts of these minions of capitalism in Spokane, Wash., as unwarranted, un-American and inhuman and we hope that this game of war as it is being practiced upon our fellow wage earners in Spokane will open the eyes of the workers to the fact that such is the game were the proletarians wise the powers would not play it; and be it further

Resolved, that we pledge a further moral and financial support to our comrades in Spokane whenever called upon and wish them every success in their battle for final economic emancipation recognizing the old adage that we must hang together or we may hang separately.

Respectfully submitted by  
AIEIX FAIRGRIEVE,  
NATHAN SMITHURST,  
WILL IRVING,  
Committee.

Are you trying to get subs for the News? Only 50 cents, and you will help save all the good work that has been done here.



Farm Scene in Judith Basin.

## Why Be Without a Home?

When you can come to the Great Judith Basin in Fergus County, Montana, where the wheat grows 40 Bushels to the acre. Where every acre will net you \$20, 200,000 acres of rich, productive soil, subject to Homestead Entry. Plenty of rainfall in crop-growing season. Deeded land now selling for TWENTY TO FORTY DOLLARS AN ACRE.

Send for our large list of farms for sale and free booklet on HOMESTEADS IN THE GREAT JUDITH BASIN, FERUGS COUNTY MONTANA.

**STONER & HARRIGAN, LEWISTOWN, MONTANA.**