

# Reported Attempt of WARDEN CONLEY TO CORRUPT ORGANIZED LABOR

## Adopting Post & Parry Tactics—Trying to Get Bunco Steerer in Carpenters' Union to Knock Montana News—Union Labor Remains True for Class—No Traitors among Deer Lodge Workingmen

### CONVICT BUTTER-MAKERS SUPPLY UNION HOSPITAL

If you Want to See Graft Read This!  
Not Reformation but Riches for  
Conley & McTague in the  
Montana System of Deal-  
ing with Crime

While Montana is a great cattle raising state, there are very few creameries within its borders, the greater supply of butter used in the state coming from the states of Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska and Utah.

Having an eye to business and being aware of the fact that there is a great market in Montana for butter, the firm of Conley & McTague went into the dairy business. A building across the street on the east of the penitentiary was erected and machinery installed and a first class creamery put in operation. Having control and ownership of the choicest land in the immediate vicinity of Deer Lodge the handling of the milk between the farm and the creamery can be done with dispatch.

Should one chance to be in Deer Lodge and in the vicinity of the penitentiary in the early part of the day convicts may be seen driving wagons or buck boards loaded with milk cans and depositing the same at the door of the creamery. Looking a little further and into the creamery, convicts hard at work will be seen.

While sanitary conditions usually demand that butter and milk be surrounded with all cleanliness, yet such is not the case at this creamery. To the credit of the convicts it must be said that the building and the machinery are kept in a neat and clean condition but the personnel of the convicts is disgusting; wearing pants with large black and white stripes, and a coarse dirty looking shirt would lead one to believe that the relations between soap suds and the convicts' clothes were considerably strained. Soap costs money while convict labor is free gratis.

Yet in conditions such as these butter is made and sold in the city of Deer Lodge, Montana, and shipped to the city of Missoula to be served to the patients in the Northern Pacific railroad hospital.

The correspondent of the News was informed that from sixty to ninety pounds of butter a week have been sent to the Missoula hospital from the

convict operated creamery in the city of Deer Lodge.

The hospital at Missoula is kept up by money deducted from the wages of the employees of the Northern Pacific railway. Every person who works for the N. P. railway whose pay is less than \$100 a month has fifty cents deducted from the wages due him on pay day, and should his pay check reach \$100 or over another fifty cents is deducted, in consideration of which the employee of the Northern Pacific railway receives free medical or surgical attention should he meet with an accident. The employee pays the costs of repairing any damage to the human machine in operation on the Northern Pacific railroad, and the travelling patrons of the railroad besides.

Here we find union men paying for medical care and receiving butter at their meals that is made by convict labor, in direct competition with free labor. The employees of the Northern Pacific railway elect a committee annually to look after their interests in the hospital and the unions which represent the employees of the Northern Pacific railway should take immediate action and see that their representatives on the hospital board instruct Doctor Spottsword, the chief surgeon of the Missoula hospital, that no more convict made butter be procured for the hospital through his family agency, from the Bonner Mercantile Company.

Butte is also a dumping ground of the butter made by convicts and it is reported that an average of seventy-five pounds of butter a week was sent all last summer and fall to a prominent hotel. The unions of Butte should investigate this matter as all convict made butter is considered unfair to organized labor throughout the entire country. The News has been informed that no butter is being shipped at present to Butte from the penitentiary creamery owing to the fact that not enough milk is being produced on the Conley & McTague farm to run the creamery to its full

capacity, therefore the convict dairy is unable to fill the orders at present.

As many as one hundred and fifty cows are reported to have been milked twice a day on the farm of Conley & McTague by the convicts of the Montana State Prison.

The convicts do not receive wages for this work, neither do they receive any better food or warmer underclothing in the winter time, in compensation for the labor performed, the state of Montana pays for the food of the convicts who have been sent to the State Prison by process of the law, yet convicts are worked daily and neither the state or the convicts receive the product of the work done, Conley & McTague, the men with the pull, get it all.

More Convict Labor in Deer Lodge.

Deer Lodge, Mont., Jan. 23, 1910  
A large rooming house is being built here for Conley and Company in the southern part of the city one block from the penitentiary. While the work of erection is being done by day labor, yet all the material for the building is being hauled to the building site by convict teamsters.

The building material has been shipped into Deer Lodge by the Northern Pacific railway, and convicts are unloading the lumber and

The fight that the News is in now against Convict Labor and Peonage in Montana is one of the most far-reaching ones it ever was in, and will be the most effective.

We have already put a stop to Convict Labor in one form, and now we must follow up the work.

Look at the meeting of the County Commissioners in Billings and their resolutions on Convict Labor.

Look at the articles in the Anaconda Standard of Jan. 21 and 22 on the same subject. If the News never said another word on the Deer Lodge question—or if we suspended—Convict Labor as now existing in Montana is doomed. Graham has been warned by friends of ours and friends of the other side that he would get shot.

However, that will not take place. The politicians want no such complications. It is easier for them to drop Conley, McTague & Co. to initiate reforms, and to quiet the working class voters.

What they dread the most is a powerful working class press that will expose their grafts.

They want to put the Montana News down and out, and will leave no stone unturned to do so.

We look to labor in Montana to rally to the support of the News. You must and will give us your strongest moral and financial support. You have done it before. You will do it again.

Go into your union and see what you can do for the News.

Socialists, here is where you can do something practical. Do not allow your socialist paper to be downed by the capitalist press. Get busy in your local. Let the support flow to the News with a glad free-handedness that shows you know what is needed.

Other articles will follow for several weeks on the State Penitentiary Situation.

### FRANCHISE GRABBING IN LEWISTOWN

John L. Bright, Peripatetic Franchise-Grabber, Seeks to Inveigle Voters  
Feb. 15 to Give Him Franchise  
to Sell to Corporations

### Workingmen Should Down Bright's Electric Light Franchise

Franchise grabbing by the capitalist class is moving forward at a merry pace in Montana. This time Lewistown is the luscious morsel the plutes are planning to swallow. The city takes a vote at a special election February 15th to give away an electric light franchise to the all-devouring Bright.

This man travels over the country getting franchises from cities, and then sells the franchises to corporations.

You working men, have you thought what this means to you? Corporations grab the industrial plants that are essential to furnish the necessities of life to the people. They get these plants because of the enormous profits they make off of them. This profit, which is one of monopoly price is the source of the luxuries with which the workers maintain the capitalists. Monopoly or corporation control of light, water, transportation and so forth means high rates, poor service, cheating in amount of service provided, neglect of working class districts, and a denial of the benefits of civilization to the great mass, according to the knowledge of scientific methods. No enlightened city has any business to grant franchises to corporations, or to the perambulating Brights. These powers should remain in the hands of the city and its voters. The working class should vote intelligently, not in the interest of corporations, but in the interest of the comfort and welfare of the citizens.

The Lewistown socialists should

In 1902 35,000 babies starved to death in the United States for want of proper food and medical attention.

There are a total of 199,981 paupers in the United States. Three millions pauperized citizens apply for assistance to charitable institutions each year.

and probably will, make this a definite issue at the election—The People versus the Corporation. The socialists aided by the Montana News have stopped a number of franchise grabs all over Montana, and as Fergus County stands the greatest per cent socialists in the state, and the socialists are keen, active-brained men, with no especial love for Bright, they will probably fight this franchise hard unless there is a clause in the same providing that the city can purchase the plant from the corporation at any time for the value of the plant minus the value of the unexpired term of the franchise; and if a price cannot be agreed upon between the city and the corporation the same shall be submitted to an arbitration board of five, two to be selected by the city, two by the corporation, and these four to select a fifth man.

There is going to be a great move towards municipal ownership in Montana. Lewistown should not tie itself up.

John L. Bright is a franchise grabber, and the News beat him five years ago in Livingston when he tried to get the big steal there.

Bright wanted Henry Lynch, who was associated with Walsh on the News, to go to work for him, and go to the state of Washington and work up franchise deals for him. Lynch refused.

If Lewistown socialists want practical results, or to do practical work on a constructive line, they have an opportunity now.

There are 102,329 prisoners in the penitentiaries and 23,786 children in juvenile institutes.

There are 101,009 insane persons in the United States and 76,895 feeble-minded. There has been an increase of 600 per cent in insanity in the last fifty years.

## THE MONTANA NEWS.

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## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The annual election of officers of the National Socialist Party—the National Secretary and the members of National Executive Committee—is pending. No election in the history of the Socialist Party, has calmed forth so much interest, excitement and controversy as this election.

It has been the intention of the News to give a thorough explanation of the issues at stake, but the heavy press of local matter, and also the financial necessity of curtailing on matter, have kept us from handling the subject as it should have been laid before our socialist readers.

What are called the impossibilist forces in the American labor movement are attempting to get hold of the administrative forces in the national organization. They want entire new control and methods (lack of method, the constructionists would say.) They are represented by Kerr and the International Socialist Review, those who yell "working class" at every step and frighten the working class into impotent and imprudent effort, those who babble loudly of "direct action" without much practical purpose in its program, those who seem to think that political action is about the last thing a political party has to attend to.

Those of the Industrial Workers who take any interest in the socialist party are interested along this side of the controversy. English Walling, a wealthy radical who calls himself a revolutionist, but seems to have no definite program to pursue, and does not belong to the party at all, has been considerably in evidence in the hysterics that have been stirred up.

In short we may say that the discontented programless element, the wild, the noisy the inexperienced, the irresponsible, are moving heaven and earth for a change their way.

The opposing force we may call the "ins" of the Socialist Party. They are those that call for constructive, practical, political work in society, and other means also, as there may be the occasion. They demand business efficiency, results, working to an end—along the lines of the successful European parliamentary parties.

Simons and the Chicago Daily Socialist are strongly advocating this policy. The Wisconsin socialists, who represent the only part of the American party that has accomplished anything of moment, and who have organized labor with them as a working political force, are making an active campaign in behalf of candidates who are capable of carrying forward this constructive policy in the party work. They are advocating the re-election of the entire old committee, with the exception of John M. Work.

The Appeal to Reason has also spoken which it seldom does in regard to party affairs. It doesn't want to offend anybody. It wants everybody to be a friend and work for the Appeal. It goes with the laissez faire principle—everybody for himself—we don't want any direction. Perhaps the Appeal thinks that some statesmanlike direction might not favor Appeal methods.

The News favors the Wisconsin idea, the ideas that are being enunciated by the most experienced American socialists. This is not to say

that we endorse blindly everything that Wisconsin socialists think or do. We may at times view the labor movement and its political action at a different angle from our eastern brethren. But the Montana News stands for sense, long, hard work, well-formulated plans, and definite political results for the working class, with any others that may be attained.

Noise and ignorance are at a discount with us. This is what we have stood for in Montana, and are trying to bring about, even though many old fossils are lost, and noise and bluster are forced to give way before practical results for the working class.

Thus we both prepare for resolutions and make them.

The complicated and absurd system of voting that has been foisted on the party by John M. Work's referendum is so misunderstandable that it is liable to lead to no election.

## Question Entirely Speculative.

Mr. Charles H. Kerr:

In answer to your question I beg to say that so far as I know there is no immediate likelihood of a labor party. Consequently it seems to me the question put is entirely speculative. Furthermore, in case a labor party was formed, the entire party membership, in my opinion, would have to decide by referendum vote what attitude the Socialist Party should take. The seven members of the National Executive Committee have no more power in such matters than any other seven members of the party.

Nevertheless, I realize that organized labor is being forced to the wall and that, during the next few years, many comrades see that possibility and it is but right that they should seek to know the attitude of those, who may occupy official positions in the party, in regard to that matter.

As a Socialist I should want to wait until I see what kind of a labor party was formed. In any case I doubt if I should think it advisable for the Socialist Party to merge itself with any other organization. Certainly before taking action a Socialist would want to have the Labor Party declare itself distinctly on the following lines. It would have to be a truly class-conscious labor party. It would have to declare itself absolutely opposed to any fusion or alliance with capitalist parties. It would have to place in its constitution a declaration that any members of the labor party that advocated the election of any capitalist candidate would thereby be excluded from the labor party. In other words, I, as a Socialist would want to know whether or not the labor party intended to be absolutely independent and to carry out actually on the political field the class struggle.

If such a party were formed no doubt all of us would want the Socialist Party to confer with the labor party at least in regard to candidates organizations would not be forced into so that these two working class or a bitter fratricidal war-fare thereby cutting each other's throats.

I believe in common with most other Marxian Socialists in every country that we want to help the working class to find its feet, to battle politically and industrially for its emancipation, but in my opinion we ought to keep our organization intact. We ought to continue to carry on our propaganda, to conduct our newspapers and forward Socialism with the same spirit and enthusiasm as now. Briefly my opinion is precisely that so well expressed by Frederic Engels many years ago: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class giving up or hiding our own distinct at every one of its stages without

Fraternally yours,  
ROBERT HUNTER.

Six per cent of the people, the capitalist class, own 82 per cent of the wealth, 19 per cent, the middle class, own 15 per cent, and 7 per cent, the working class, own 3 per cent of the wealth. The latter's share consists of houses and personal property, such as furniture, ect.

Reported Attempt to  
Corrupt Organized  
Labor

(Continued from First Page.)

bribe the carpenters of Deer Lodge to betray the spokesman of Organized Labor, the Montana News.

Not being able to keep the workmen of Deer Lodge from organizing themselves into unions, and being defeated in his attempt to victimize the president of the Machinist Union, and being foiled in his attempt to break the Retail Clerks' strike, Mayor Conley decided to endeavor to control the unions, or play one organization against another. The story as given the representative of the Montana News is as follows.

Conley made overtures to members of the Carpenters' Union that if that union would pass resolutions condemning the Montana News for exposing his rascality and union smashing policy that he, Conley, would give a number of carpenters steady work during the balance of the winter and would sign a working agreement with the Carpenters' Union, in return for that union using the white wash brush to cover up Conley's dark and dirty work.

The carpenters of Deer Lodge are union men and know that the Montana News is the only paper in Montana that fights the battle for organized labor, and refused to be a party to such a contemptible act as Conley tried to get them to do.

Conley seems to be a student of Parry and Post and must have been studying from Post's text book, "How to Control the Unions." It is the policy of the corporations and all those who make their money from the toil of the wage earners, to endeavor to control the unions that they have to deal with, if they can't destroy the union or prevent their employees from organizing themselves into unions.

The methods generally used by corporations and employers to control the unions is to have a Bunco Steerer inside the unions to do the dirty work for them. The work of the Bunco Steerer in the unions is to lead the workers into a trap set for them by the boss, or to lead the workers on to a side track where they will remain inactive while the boss skins them, or to get the workers mixed up in factional strife. Conley sees the unions in Deer Lodge organized become militant, the work of revolt and protest spread and in order to continue his graft he tries the tactics of Post by putting the Bunco Steerer at work; but in this case the bunco game would not work. If there are any Bunco Steerers in Deer Lodge, they have not made their appearance so far among the union men.

The eyes of all Organized Labor in Montana are fixed on the unions of Deer Lodge at present, and the union men of Deer Lodge must be true to

the historic mission of Labor. Convict Labor must go in Montana; for the present the fight is on in Deer Lodge, later on, when the time arrives to strike the blow at this form of slavery, the fight will become general through all Montana.

## An Old Veteran Gone.

Comrade H. W. Wilkins, one of the oldest and best known workers, in point of service, in the Socialist movement of America, has been stricken down by the hand of death.

Comrade Wilkins during his long service lectured in nearly every state from the Atlantic to the Pacific. His last year of service to the party was rendered under extremely trying conditions as he had been afflicted with cancer. At the close of the campaign of 1908 he was forced to give up all active participation in propaganda work and retired to his home in Waverly, Mass.

Here, surrounded by his wife and three children, he battled against the inroads upon his life made by cancer of the mouth with all the fortitude and patience he could command.

Word comes from his bereaved wife that he passed quietly away Tuesday evening, January 18th, at 5:35. He was conscious to the last, death coming to him suddenly and unexpectedly.

Those who knew Comrade Wilkins will feel deep and sincere regret that such an untiring fighter for the freedom of the working class has been called away.

He has not been allowed to live to see Socialism triumph, but his friends and his sorrowing family can always recall that Comrade Wilkins was for a quarter of a century in the front ranks of the proletarian army and never wavered nor lost his faith in the ultimate triumph of the movement to which he gave his life.

Comrade Wilkins, the man, is gone. His work will live after him and be remembered for generations.

## 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:

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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 WORKING GIRL.

You ask me to smile and be happy,
And not mind the rough road of life;
To lighten the burden of others,
And press to the front in the strife.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

"Woman's Day."

The following official statement has been issued by the National Woman's Committee:

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

Comrades—The National Woman's Committee, with the endorsement of the National Executive Committee, has set aside the 27th day of February, the last Sunday of the month, as "Woman's Day".

The Socialist party is pledged to work for equal suffrage for men and women, but at this stage of industrial unrest among the working women it is of special importance to point out to the latter our true relationship to them.

Let us then make "Woman's Day" a rousing national success. Let the Socialists make it an occasion to point out to the working woman their view of her rights and privileges.

We must embrace this opportunity not only as a means of agitating for votes for woman but also as a fit time to awaken the class-consciousness of our toiling sisters, and thus win their hearts and minds for Socialism.

Comrades, the day is near and it behooves us to urge you to proceed at once with the arrangements for meetings and celebrations that you are going to hold on that day.

Fraternal yours,

For the National Woman's Committee:

- Dr. Antoinette Konikow, Meta L. Stern, Theresa Malkiel, May Wood-Simons.

HOW SOCIALISM IS COMING.

By Winfield Gaylord, Socialist State Senator from Wisconsin.

We Socialists in Wisconsin do not believe that socialism will come suddenly, some day, like a brick dropping out of a clear sky, or like an eruption of Vesuvius.

Socialism means democracy, social-

democracy. And by democracy we understand something which means the same for society as self-control means for one man.

Government means the control of society—social control. Democracy means social self-control. And that is what Socialism aims at, and is accomplishing.

We do not have any kind of a democracy now, for all the people, although our political forms of action furnish the means of creating a democracy. Industrially we are governed by a plutocracy. The trusts, the corporations and the Napoleons of finance furnish what government we have in industry and commerce.

Politically, we have no government worthy of the name. The laws have been made at the behest of corporations. They have been administered in the interests of grafters. They have been interpreted by a crowd of hired lawyers.

Nevertheless, social-democracy is coming, and along two lines, mainly.

First: Whenever an organization of workmen secures an agreement with their employer, which in any way enable them to affect the condition, wages or hours of their labor, there and to that extent for those people industrial democracy is now coming. And a democracy which does not involve industrial democracy is a mockery and an hypocrisy.

Second. Wherever the working people succeed in having the laws of property made in their own interests rather than in the interests of a few private owners, there and to that extent political democracy is coming.

These two kinds of social self-control are necessary. The rules of labor must be made by the laborers and the rules of property which they must use when they labor must also be made by them.

And this is also being done. This is the meaning of the municipal ownership movement. And especially is this the meaning of the Socialist Party on the political field.

For, the trades unions are not organized, nor are they competent as such, to make the laws of property. But the workers must control the property on which their labor depends—otherwise they can not control their labor—they can not have self control.

In the state of Wisconsin we are gaining self-control along both these lines, and it is getting ready everywhere else.—S. D. Herald.

STUDY COURSE OF SOCIALISM

The Economics of Capitalism.

The Expansion of Capitalism.—Capitalism expands, not only by the accumulation of capital in those industries and those countries in which the capitalist system already prevails, but also by the extension of the system to other industries and to other countries.

Capitalism in its mature form first appeared in the cotton and woolen manufacture in England. But the use of machinery in those industries created a large demand for machinery and for coal. Coal mining, iron mining, and the making of machinery were forced into the same course of development. Increased production of machinery and coal facilitated the introduction of similar methods into the manufacture of other textiles, other metal goods, and many other commodities. Part of the surplus-value derived from industries already capitalized was all the time being invested (either directly by its owners, or oftener through loans the banks in which capitalists kept their money) in establishing capitalist enterprises in other industries. As soon as capital was turned to any industry and stimulated the invention of machinery for conducting it, the old hand trade was doomed; it might linger for years, but the superior cheapness of machine production eventually drove it out.

In other countries where social conditions were more or less prepared for it (Western Europe and the United States) the example of England stimulated and English competition compelled the rise of capitalism as a native growth; even in these countries, however, native capital was largely re-enforced by English capitalists investing there a part of their

income. Later capitalism spread somewhat less rapidly and by somewhat different methods to Mexico, South America, Japan, Russia, etc., and is now establishing itself in Turkey, China, India, and other parts of Asia, and in Africa.

The entrance of capitalism into a new land is generally marked by several stages. First, the country is opened to commerce, becoming a market for manufactured goods from capitalist countries and supplying them with raw materials and with its peculiar products. Then by conquest or by bribing or bullying native rulers, capitalists get grants of land, mines, concessions for building railways, and exclusive commercial privileges. Finally, they introduce capitalist industry into the country, employing native workers at low wages. Such industry, once established, tends to crowd out native handicraft and gradually develop the characteristic features of capitalist society, the ownership remaining largely in the hands of the financiers of older capitalist countries.

Nor is capitalism confined to manufacture, mining, transportation, commerce, and finance, though in these branches it first develops. Later it invades the field of agriculture, as will be seen hereafter.

Thus capitalism tends to spread to all departments of economic life in all countries; establishing virtually similar conditions throughout the world, the whole system dominated by the great capitalists of the most advanced countries.

Concentration of Ownership and Control.—The ownership of this accumulation and expanding capital tends to become concentrated in fewer hands, and its control to become still more concentrated.

Concentration is a normal outcome of competition, which it in turn destroys. It is often promoted by special legislative favors—protective tariffs, land grants, monopolistic franchises, etc.—and by illegal methods on the part of capitalists. But even without these it would come about, somewhat more slowly, through the workings of competition.

As already stated, larger capitalists have the advantage in competition. In any industry, as a rule, a large capital gives a higher rate of return to the owner than a small one (up to a limit set by the technical and social conditions of the time); large enterprises can undersell small ones and yet have a sufficient surplus to increase their plant and gain a still increasing advantage. The large enterprises continue to grow and absorb a greater share of the trade. The smallest ones are forced to two alternatives—either separately they must leave the field, becoming bankrupt or selling out to large competitors; or several of them must combine to form one large enterprise.

Besides combinations thus forced by fear of failure, combinations of large enterprises are formed for the purpose of increasing the advantage already gained. In place of the maxim of early capitalism, "Competition is the life of trade," we now have the principle recognized even by bourgeois economists that "Wherever combination becomes possible, competition becomes impossible."

Combination generally begins with attempts to limit competition within a certain group while retaining separate organization and ownership—price agreements, joint selling agencies, pools, etc. These prove ineffective, partly because illegal, chiefly because capitalists cannot trust each other. Then comes actual combination by merger or formation of holding companies, which unify ownership and control.

It has been noted that, in the process of capitalist accumulation, there is a continual increase in the amount of capital necessary to carry on an enterprise profitably. From this it follows that it becomes harder for small capitalists to establish a new enterprise successfully in competition with those already in the field.

Concentration of control even outruns concentration of ownership. A corporation with a capital of a billion dollars may have a hundred thousand stockholders. But most of these have

such small holdings that they cannot have any effective voice in the management of the company; it is practically governed by a few very large stockholders, who own large enough amounts of stock to carry elections by voting together. These usually divert a large part of the company's income to themselves by issues of preferred stock or bonds, high salaries and fees, contracts, etc. Thus the capital of both large and small holders is used in expanding industry and increasing the total surplus-value, but the surplus-value is almost appropriated by the large ones.

The Integration of Capitalism.—In earlier days the capitalist class consisted of many groups, one for each line of business. With the full development of the corporate form of ownership this ceases to be the case. The capitalist becomes simply an owner, not a director of industry, and invests not in some one industry, but in whatever securities at the time promise the largest return. Each large capitalist, as a rule, has investments in several industries and often in several countries. Steel and oil capitalists hold copper stock; copper and sugar capitalists hold stock in tobacco companies, insurance companies, traction companies, and banks.

Aside from this cross-ownership by individual capitalists, corporations also (especially banking, trust, and insurance companies) invest much of their surplus in the stocks and bonds of other companies.

This integration of capitalism extends beyond national frontiers. English capitalists hold large amounts of American securities; French, Belgian, German and American capitalists have large holdings in Russia; Belgian and American capital is united in exploiting the Congo; American, French, and Spanish capitalists are joined with Mexican capitalists in dominating Mexican industry.

The Integration of Industry.—One form of the integration of capitalism must be mentioned separately. In the past, manufacturing was generally quite separately from mining and agriculture, from transportation, and from commerce.

Manufacturers bought raw materials directly or through wholesale dealers and sold their products to other wholesale dealers, who sold it to the retailers. This is now changing. The steel trust owns iron mines, coal mines, limestone quarries, forest lands, railways and steamboats to transport materials. The tobacco trust owns considerable tracts of tobacco land in the United States and Cuba; on the other hand, through a subsidiary company it sells its products at retail to consumers direct. A syndicate of cotton mill owners lately bought 250,000 acres of cotton land in Texas.

References:

Marx, Deville, or Hyndman, as before.

Questions for Review.

- 1. What is the distinction between constant capital and variable capital? How do their proportions change in the course of capitalist development?
2. Why cannot wages for any considerable time increase equally with the increasing product of labor?
3. How is the statement that capitalists receive a larger share of the product now than formerly consistent with the fact that the rate of interest on capital is falling?
4. What are the two principal differences between a partnership and a joint stock company? What is the advantage of joint stock form of organization, from the point of view of the development of capitalism?
5. What is the difference between stocks and bonds?



CAN YOU make the other man see just why it is that he can not get all he produces under the wage system? If not, read Value, Price and Profit, and then try again. Marx is easier reading than better reading than most of his interpreters. Study him for yourself! Cloth 10c, paper 5c, post paid Socialist Book Bulletin free Special Offer: Mention this paper and for 5c, we will send the International Socialist Review, 6 mos. and a paper copy each of Value, Price and Profit, the Communist Manifesto, Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Spargo's The Socialists, and Simons' Class Struggles in America. If you prefer, we will substitute 1 of these in cloth for the 5 in paper. Address Charles H. Kerr & Company, 163 East Kinzie St., Chicago.

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LOCAL DEPARTMENT

MONTANA WORKINGMEN.

You have been so aroused by the wrongs against your class, by the attempt to suppress labor organization by prominent state officials, by the determination to graft off the labor of convicts, that you have put 2,000 subscriptions on the News list in the last six weeks.

Every other paper in the state is subsidized by the capitalist class and the officials of the capitalist class except the News.

No other paper in the state will expose official graft except the News.

The protection of labor in our industrial system depends upon labor's protection of its press.

... To right wrongs the public must know that those wrongs exist.

The Montana News is the only workingman's paper in Montana.

It does not stand for the capitalist's politics; it stands for the workingman's politics—Socialism... The advocate of labor must be read by labor.

What are you doing to spread the cause of justice and the dignity of labor through the earth?

The News must be spread to every voting precinct in Montana.

The franchise grabbers are at work upon the voters.

Workers, you must grasp political power if you would break your chains. See if you cannot spread the message of the Montana News to ten new workingmen... A club of ten subscriptions gets a copy of the "Mills of Mammon", Brower's great book on the White Slave Traffic.

Boost the working class Press! Boost Socialism!

Boost Freedom!

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.

Anaconda, Mont., Jan. 18, 1910. Motion to Amend the Constitution of Socialist Party.

Greeting: After an able address delivered before the Anaconda Central Labor Council of this city by Brother James Graham the council voted to subscribe twenty-five (25) dollars towards your valuable labor paper; said check for same please find enclosed.

With best wishes and unity, I am Fraternally, THOS. F. MURPHY, Secy-Treas. C. L. Council.

As an evidence of the way organized labor in Montana feels that it must have a press to champion its cause, we give below a partial list of the unions that are taking bundles of the News:

- Butte Workingmen's Union 50 copies
- Corbin Miners & Millmen's Union 10 copies
- Aldridge Miner's Union 50 copies
- Belt Miners' Union 50 copies
- Stockett Miners' Union 50 copies
- Anaconda Carpenters Union 50 copies
- Anaconda Mill & Smeltermen's Union 50 copies
- Butte Clerks' Union 50 copies
- Butte Plumbers' Union 25 copies
- Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council 50 copies
- Butte Mill & Smeltermen's Union 50 copies
- Butte Miners' Union 50 copies
- Butte Electrical Workers 50 copies

The Montana News is going to be a factor in helping to advance the labor movement of the Northwest. See that you fellow workers, both union and non-union, subscribe for the News. By reading the News each week the union man will become more active and aggressive in advancing the interests of his class and the non-union man will leave the ranks of the unorganized and become a union man.

There is a great industrial struggle appearing on the horizon, the outcome of which is going to mean considerable for the immediate welfare of the working class and the immediate advance towards socialism. You can help to make the struggle a victory for the workers by joining the union, and helping daily in the struggle for emancipation from wage slavery.

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.

Letters from Comrade L. De Lara, who is being pursued by the dogs of Mexico, state that he will be in Montana shortly. He is lecturing on Mexico and its barbarous conditions, on his way to Washington. With proper arrangements Comrade De Lara should have a splendid hearing in Montana. Those desirous of securing dates should write T. M. M. Laurens, Butte, Mont.

There are a large number of seab cigars sold in Montana; if you smoke, always demand a union made cigar from a union made box. Union cigar makers are generally socialists. See to it that you employ only socialists by demanding a union made cigar.

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—**

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.—Engels ..... .50

**ECONOMICS—**

The People's Marx.—Deville ..... 1.00  
 Socialism.—Spargo ..... 1.50

**SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM—**

Woman.—Rebel ..... 1.00  
 The American Farmer.—Simons ..... .50  
 The City for the People.—Parsons ..... 1.50  
 Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.—andervelde ..... .50

**TACTICS AND METHODS—**

Socialists at Work.—Hunter ..... 1.50  
 Constructive Socialism.—Thompson ..... .25

**HISTORY—**

History of Socialism.—Kirkup ..... 2.25  
 History of Socialism in the United States.—Hilquit ..... 1.50

**\$15.15**

COMPLETE SET \$11.00, DELIVERED FREE.

The Fable of the Day and the Future.

Once upon a time a caravan was seen winding its way laboriously up a steep incline. The road was rough and huggy and the beasts of burden looked underfed, dragged out and generally abused.

Said the mule to the ass, "I feel cold, hungry and sick, but what I want to do is to kick—strike."

The ass made answer thus, "It is most wicked of you to show such discontent, I for my part will submit in meekness to whatever be my portion and then perhaps my master will be more tolerant."

Whack, whack, came down the cruel whip upon their backs. The poor ass ere long disappeared from the train and fell among the skeletons of its former companions with which the roadside was strewn so drearily all along the way. Just ahead of the mule two horses were working and pulling hard to reach the summit of the mountain and reasoned thus with the mule.

"Friend, more sure of satisfactory results than striking, would be better and more extended organization for mutual interests."

But the mule objected, halfheartedly he said, it could not be done. However, after a while he agreed that almost any plan might prove better than the present state. So when headquarters were reached the plan was communicated to their kind.

There was a great time when they all finally conceived the idea. There was every kind of kicking, but lastly a new gymnastic was introduced by which they came down on two feet only and stood up straight like men; and why? Oh wonder! Oh, joy! can it be true that they were real men and women with reasoning brains and minds of their own?

Yes, it was actually true, but their wretched environments had kept them blinded and deceived concerning these facts. But hark! what tremendous roaring, sliding commotion? That was, however, nothing but the parasites rolling and tumbling down from their backs, all, from the small diminutive kind to the big arrogant biped. There was simply no hanging on anymore since the people stood up straight now, and chose to be clean and respectable as sensible people should.

They looked transfixed as they contemplated their new outlook in life as rightful heir on this earth, to use in a proper manner the many opportunities offered therein for full, beautiful and happy lives.

"Here, but what do you call this? we seem to be left out entirely" yelled some of the tumbled ones. "Toa?" was the response, "you may go and try a diet of thistles or if preferable join the ranks and become actual and useful citizens." Whereupon two hot-tempered aristocrats reeled, fell over and expired. A few of their kind employed other means to release the world of their useless presence.

Two well fed and big stomached gentlemen came to the front, one, a former celebrated orator, the other an eminent pulpiteer. These two attempted to enforce a hearing, and in thundering and aweinspiring tones commenced as follows: "All ye of the vulgar and senseless mob, take care; take warning. Have you not been taught that selfexaltation comes before the fall? Your high-strung notions of independence are abominable before our most high and adorable God Mammon whose plan according to the wisdom of his providence is that you shall serve your masters and superiors in meekness and humility no matter what their moods or notions may be, and so after an obedient and useful life here, you may in the next world—but what was the matter? Not one timid or credulous one for audience.

The people had become enlightened and saw clear through the whole wicked juggernaut of their former oppressors and the scheme could be worked no more. Written on their hearts was the new and yet old, old religion of justice, equity and brotherhood, the world, the fatherhouse with plenty, and room for all.

And so a new society was organized, and in it was found no more any such a thing as a tramp, a millionaire, a white slave, nor any kind of slave; war had disappeared and the jail and the brothel were things of the past; and the sad and horrible past was not to be referred to except as an example and a warning.

But never since the world began, was there made before such stupendous progress and improvement all along every line of activity for use, beauty, culture and every kind of wholesome and edifying entertainment and amusement. The people also, as the generations came and passed became ever more strong and beautiful in face and form, in mind and character, and one name of such highly exalted state of society—will be socialism.

MARGARET PALSGROVE, Great Falls, Mont. Send in your job work NOW.

Debt of Honor

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

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

The response has been as follows:

Local Lima	\$20.00
J. E. Bush	5.00
Edwin Dew	5.00
Wm. Dew	5.00
C. Anderson	1.00
C. Feick	1.00

Total .....\$37.00  
 To be raised \$599.00  
 Balance to get .....\$462.00

Bee Hive

By Tryem Helper.

The penitentiary issues of the News are in demand. Miss Hennesberry of Deer Lodge orders a nice bundle.

Another booster, Margareth Palsgrove of Great Falls, sends in for one hundred copies of the Catholic edition.

Things are humming in the News office. T. C. Hall of Missoula takes two hundred copies of the Catholic edition as fast as they come.

J. A. Roades Jr. of Lewistown has some job work he wants done and makes the job press hum.

We know that John H. Woodahl of Great Falls appreciates the News for he sends in his renewal.

W. D. Padrick of Goff, Idaho, sends for the "Pocket Library of Socialism" and a sub. He signs "An Undesirable". Undesirables are getting thick.

Things must be doing in Anaconda. Every week they have in an order. This time it is from the Anaconda Mill & Smeltermen's Union for fifty copies weekly.

Alex Fairgrieve at Roundup boosts the circulation with ten subs.

Anaconda hits the bell again and rings up twenty-five subs for the Teamsters' Union.

A nice bit of job work is in from the District Lodge of Machinists of the Milwaukee road. They want a class conscious job done on their ballots and they get it.

The Workingsmen's Union of Anaconda makes the circulation man hustle to put on twenty-five subs for them.

When Comrade Graham goes out he "gets the goods". He has landed

sixty subs in Anaconda in two days. The Bearcreek coal miners paralyzed the job printer with a \$14.75 order of checkweight sheets.

S. P. Cady made us a pleasant call and left a sub. Don't forget the number and call again.

The Butte Mill & Smeltermen's Union has laid in a bunch of ammunition in the way of fifty subs. Who is going to get shot?

Comrade John Marriatt wants the popular book of the hour and sends for the "Mills of Mammon".

You would need as many arms as a Chinese Idol to count all the subs coming in, on your fingers. Only another fifty from the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council. Whoop her up.

Edwin Dew writes in often enough to keep him in our memory. This time he sends in a sub and 50 cts. donation.

With a lot of help such as Deer Lodge is giving us we could make a paper you would be proud of. Twenty more subs from that burg and orders for several bundles of the "Bonanza Series", as the boys call the Penitentiary Convict issues. We thank you.

T. E. M. of Deer Lodge wins the "Mills of Mammon" by sending in ten subs. Wm. Hurme of Hamilton does the same. The boys are pleased and so are we. We have not run out of books yet. Perhaps you would like a copy of this excellent exposure. Just send in ten subs and it is yours.

If the Workers will keep up the present lick the News will be n its feet soon, and you will see a marked improvement in it. Comrades you are doing well. We are pleased. Only one small doubt darkens the otherwise clear horizon. Will You keep up the lick? We believe you will and we are depending on You.

Here is the list of ones: B. A. C. Stone of Ferrington, Nev.; H. H. Friedhelm of Twin Falls, Ida.; Levi Crouch of Mystic, Conn.; Wm. Dew, Gold Creek, Mont.

Where is Dakota? We are anxious to hear from Dakota. We believe there ought to be some workers there. Is it possible they are asleep?

Always give your support to the wages workers on strike. Do not consider whether they are right or wrong while the struggle is on, consider that after the strike is over. Remember that they are fighting against capitalism, and while the fight lasts it is your duty to support them.

Spend \$3.00 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.

**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, FERGUS COUNTY MONTANA.

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