

Why Socialist Papers Fail

The financial failure of many Socialist papers appears to be of great concern to the comrades at present. And when we read the announcement nearly every week of some Socialist paper reducing in size, and a few weeks later read of its going out of existence, the question naturally arises, why can't these Socialist papers live?

Suffice to say it would take some space to tell in full why they fail, but in brief, it is mismanagement; if you realize what that word implies under the present competitive system. Many Socialist papers are established by some one who knows nothing about the paper business. Then a bid is secured from some office to set the type, the advertisements, make-up the forms, print the paper, etc. Here is where the profit has gone—gone to furnish ammunition to the enemy.

To run a paper on this plan means an expense of approximately \$50 per week with a circulation of 5,000; of course this all depends upon the locality and the Typographical union scale of wages. Five thousand subscribers at 50 cents per year means an income of about \$200 per month. Fifty dollars per week for the work means an expense of \$200 to \$250 per month. All this is not counting the editor, office, telephone, lights, fuel, insurance, taxes, living and a thousand other small items that amount to a great deal in the aggregate.

The Milwaukee Herald, in speaking of the failure of the Seattle Socialist, alludes to the cause as being brought about by the "cut-throat" business methods of the Appeal to Reason. There is about as much sense to such argument (?) as that advanced by the laboring mule of

Montana, when asked to subscribe for the Montana News at one dollar, throws up his hands in holy horror, and exclaims that the Appeal is only two-bits. It is a loss of time to try to explain the business end of the proposition to the fellow. We just pass him up and get to the fellow who will subscribe.

The News reduced its price from \$2.50 per year to \$1.00, and should we secure a large enough subscription list in the future to warrant another reduction, down she will go, and this cannot be termed "cut-throat" business either. It is straight legitimate business under the present competitive system.

This whole proposition cannot be changed until such time that the Socialists begin to elect men to remunerative offices. And then the party should own the press. All electors' salaries should go into a Socialist fund, the elector, no matter what office, to receive a union scale of wages and all the big surplus of velvet attached to most of the public offices to go into the propaganda cause, to support the party owned papers, and further the cause of Socialism.

For instance, a district judge in this state draws nearly \$300 per month, while many other public officers draw more; this, you will see, is far above a union scale and would leave a nice fund for propaganda work.

However, the present condition of the Socialist press lacks management, and it needs it, and needs the very best, because the present condition confronting the Socialist papers is a serious one and a hard row to hoe, and consequently needs just that much more hustling.

Trades and Labor Assembly Read Riot Act to Demo-Republican Fakirs

Helena, Mont., July 24, 1904. Whereas, During the last municipal campaign in the city of Helena, the republican party pledged itself and its candidates for office, in its platform, to establish and conduct a free labor bureau; and the democratic party and its candidates, at the same time and in the same manner, pledged itself and themselves to establish and conduct a free employment bureau and to establish the office of public weighmaster. And

Whereas, Under these personal and party pledges, a democratic mayor and a republican city council were elected. And

Whereas, The democratic mayor and the republican city council have refused to carry out these personal and party pledges made to the laboring people and the citizens and upon which they secured their votes, in that they have formally decided to not fulfill them, offering as an excuse for the violation of their promises, that there is no appropriation for the maintenance of these institutions. It is, however, a matter of public record and common knowledge that the expense of estimating the cost of the water plant by an engineer imported from the east and other expenses that involve a greater expenditure of public moneys, are incurred and are paid without the formality of an appropriation; and there is no question but that the mayor and the city council could have found ways and means to support these offices if they had desired to keep their solemn pledges with our people. Therefore be it

Resolved, By the Trades and Labor Assembly of the city of

Helena, and county of Lewis and Clarke, in regular session assembled on the day and year herein first written, that the action of the democratic mayor and the republican city council of the city of Helena, in thus deliberately violating their pledges to the laboring people and to all citizens of this city, be and is earnestly condemned and denounced; and it is ordered that the fact of the violation of these pledges be brought to the notice of every laboring man affiliated with this council, and that copies of these resolutions be given the newspapers of the city and county for publication.

FRANK ANDREWS,
President.
W. W. HILLIS,
Secretary.

Comrade Jackson Takes a Vacation

Butte, Mont., July 22, 1904.
J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: Yours of the 9th inst., care of Comrade Pierce, received.

I am off for a camping tour to St. Anthony's park. I will make an effort to get subscribers for the Montana News at every opportunity. I take lots of literature with me on the trip.

Hoping you every success, I am yours fraternally,
EVAN O. JACKSON.

After all the bawl of the weekly People of New York, the paper of the S. L. P., as regarded the national convention of Socialists in its make-up of editors, lawyers, etc., the editor of that paper was nominated for governor.

J. H. Calderhead has returned home from the national convention of the populist corpse, whose death was caused by democratic fusion microbes, and gives out the startling information that he expects the populist ticket to poll a larger vote this year than ever before, even exceeding that of Weaver of near a million and a half. But then readers should take this josh without laughing because Mr. Calderhead is holding a position at the state capitol, and he has a great desire to hold it another term. However, the News would suggest that should he be defeated from the much coveted position (which he will be), he secure a place at an undertaking establishment that his tenacity to hang to a corpse proposition would not be eliminated.

If these direct legislation advocates are in earnest, and really mean what they say, they can ac-

complish all they are asking for, and more, too, by voting the Socialist ticket. The election of the Socialist ticket means not only the initiative and referendum, but it means to the laborer the full product of his toil. If you are not faking get in with the Socialists.

The Socialist locals over the state should be getting busy these days and look after their county conventions. The Socialist party has no reason to wait—they should be first in the field with a ticket and platform. Some of the comrades need awaking. Why not appoint a committee to go around and arouse them. Now is the time to act. Get a move on you, comrade. Do not lie around like a big Mississippi nigger, and then wonder why things go the way they do. Get a move on you; get a ticket in the field in every county. Get to the people; tell them what Socialism means to humanity. Push! Push!!

The American Farmer's Life

It is said that 40 per cent of the vote of our country comes from the farming, and 25 per cent from the industrial world. If this is true, then it is clear that the Socialist must reach out into the rural districts before he can hope to take control of the government through the ballot. There has been some opposition to propaganda among the farmers, but no argument can be filed against such propaganda that will equal those for it. Whether the farmer owns his land or not, whether he has money in the bank or not, there is nowhere in the world a class of

ally scab in strikes and taboo the unions, because they do not understand their meaning, nor the reason for their existence. The farmer's idea is always that of individual work; he has not found co-operative effort necessary, as have the toilers of the more crowded places.

In all of these things he needs education. He is naturally independent and of revolutionary spirit. There is still the tang and odor of the soil about him, and his spirit rebels at the thought of oppression and tyranny. He knows no kinship whatever to the dweller in the city slum. He is like another being from another world. He has stamina and resisting powers that the slum dweller does not possess. He will not wait until he is crushed before he will fight. Nor will his fight be a mere physical resistance; principle is the thing that will make his spirit rise and cause him to enter a protest against wrong.

I believe that Socialist propaganda ought to be pushed among the farmers. I believe that certain districts should be picked out and that Socialist speakers should go, one after the other, through these districts, until the seed is well sown and the farmer has but to make his choice. But in carrying on this propaganda, tact and judgment should be used. The city agitator would make poor headway in the rural districts. Often he is positively offensive and incites a spirit of antagonism that is hard to overcome. This is because he knows but one appeal, and that is one that reaches the rough, materialistic crowd on a city street corner, but is utterly incomprehensible to the farmer.

The successful rural agitator is one who has been a dweller of the woods himself and who understands the effects of trees and plowed earth and sunshine and plenty of room upon the genus homo. He knows also what bad debts, mortgages, high prices, ruined crops, etc., mean to the farmer, and so he approaches him first through sentiment and second through sense.

It is highly important that the farmer be educated in Socialism, and it is also important that this education be conducted in a right manner. Literature is always a safe method. There are dozens of books and pamphlets that will appeal to him and set him thinking. Let this method be used until the movement is well enough off to keep speakers constantly in all farming districts. What we want is a vote that will make the co-operative commonwealth a thing of reality—and we want an intelligent vote. J. C.

The cartoon in the Butte News of the 20th is altogether overdrawn, and "direct legislation" has no horrors to such men as are represented in the sketch—Clark, Rockefeller, Hoffman, Rogers, Carter, John S. M. Alphabet Neill. When such men read the handwriting on the wall, Socialism, then these parasite fakirs' hands will go up before their god (the almighty dollar) in horror. But direct legislation leagues, anti-trust parties, with a following of ignorant laboring mules who can be bought at six-bits a head on election day, and kindred faking labor organizations, present no horrors to them. There is just one organization that worries them, the one that will remove all graft, no matter of what brand—the Socialist organization. Just change the cartoon, a few years hence, when the handwriting on the wall will show Socialism in place of the Toole fakism, "direct legislation," and the parasite hands will go up in horror in earnest.

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** WRITE NAME AND ADDRESS VERY PLAINLY **

Debs Shows Up Parker and Davis

Comrade Debs sends us an interview had with him by the Terre Haute Gazette, from which we take the following:

"Organized labor has no more uncompromising enemy than Henry G. Davis, the person whom the democratic party has chosen to be the tail piece of the national ticket.

"It might be a good idea to say here, too, that Mr. Parker, the head of the ticket, is merely the personal candidate of John D. Rockefeller. He was also one of the judges who decided that the eight-hour law for labor in New York was unconstitutional. He is the candidate of the Standard Oil company. The authority for this statement is Thos. W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, who charges that 'Boss' McCarren of Brooklyn, who brought out Parker, and managed his campaign, is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil company as their political manipulator at a salary of \$20,000 per year."

(When questioned today by a representative of the Associated Press at Brooklyn, Carren refused to make any reply to the above statement.)

"Judge Parker," continued Mr. Debs, "is now the candidate of the democratic party which is so furiously opposed to trust rule.

"As to the vice presidential candidate of the party, who is supposed to represent the common people of the country on the ticket, Henry G. Davis is estimated to be worth \$30,000,000, and he has achieved fame in the labor world by charging union labor with being a criminal conspiracy

and treating union men as enemies to society, who should be caged or killed.

"He does not permit his employees to belong to a labor union. For reference the United Mine Workers will serve. Davis owns a big part of the state of West Virginia, including its railroads and mines.

"In the summer of 1897, during the Mine Workers' strike, the national officers asked me to go into West Virginia to organize the miners and get them to join the strike, as West Virginia was flooding the western markets with 'scab' coal. I was so successful in my efforts that Judge Jackson issued his notorious injunction against me, which in effect enjoined me from even leaving my boarding house.

"Henry Davis, the democratic nominee for vice president, was mainly instrumental in having this and other later injunctions issued by Judge Jackson, whose name has become the synonym for judicial tyranny among workingmen.

"Davis is the very incarnation of the old-time slave driver who flourished in the dominion.

"Here is another point. The democratic manager of the St. Louis convention placed 2,000 reserved seats at the disposal of the Business Men's league, an organization hostile to organized labor. But not a seat was tendered to labor, organized or otherwise.

"Six weeks ago William J. Bryan publicly stated that no self-respecting democrat could support Judge Parker, the tool of the trusts and the money power. Mr. Bryan is now supporting him and in so doing is proclaiming himself a political degenerate."

workers whose responsibilities are greater than his; whose hours of labor are longer, whose promise of success is more uncertain. There is not another portion of the working class whose diversions are so small and infrequent as are his. Nor another whose lives are bound by so many limitations. The farmer's farm is the center of his activity, of his hopes and pleasures. And save the infrequent visits he makes to the nearby towns and villages, the farm is also the limit of his activities. For these reasons he more frequently than any other class of workers welcomes the new face, the visitor, the lecturer, the school house entertainment, the church social, the new book, paper, or magazine. He is not radical, and he has not given much of his time to the study of economics or to the labor conditions of his country. But he is willing to be shown, if the right course is taken in doing it, and after he is once convinced of unjust conditions and their remedies none can be more radical than he.

All through his life, the farmer has heard periodically the speeches of demagogues and old party politicians and his ideas and ideals are naturally formed through these channels. He is told that this is the greatest country in the world and that times were never so prosperous; that young men have only to go out and call upon Fortune and she will come to them, a willing servant. They are told that the republican party is responsible for all of this good. Or the democratic office seeker comes along and tells them that there is untold wealth in his party, and if they will only elect a democratic president to office that high tariffs will drop like scales from the eyes of an enlightened voter, and that all farm implements will henceforth cost but a very modest sum. The farmer is made glad by these promises, but his toil does not decrease, nor does his financial condition experience any material betterment. He sends his sons to the towns and cities to find work, and they natur-