

The Socialist

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THE CAPITALIST PRESS—ITS TRUE INWARDNESS



FLYING SHOTS

BY MARXMAN

Now that the capitalists are going to fight Socialism, let's not have a sham battle. Make them fight straight Socialism.

The coal strike commission thought, fully declared against the miners being paid by weight. Easy matter for the mine owners to make up for that ten cents increase by adding a few hundred more pounds to the ton, for which the miner will not be paid.

The capitalists may well be indignant at the decreasing number of working class children in America. The supply of child labor is bound to run short.

The Czar has generously decreed a few more rights to "his" people—but he is still on their backs.

A New York Prohibitionist says the Socialists will never elect a president in this country. Never was necessary for the Socialists to say that of the Prohibitionists.

This talk of "elevating the stage" reminds the Socialist that the theater will be "purified" when the box office receipts do not conflict with the highest ideals of dramatic art.

Senatorially speaking, Smoot is probably the least Mormon of them all.

There never would be a philanthropist if there was not first a pauper.

Cast your ballot against Socialism and it will return to you before many days in the shape of an injunction.

It is more often than not, expert testimony to woman's superiority when some men declare that women are not men's equals.

Injunctions against organized labor are legal because the capitalist class own the legal machinery.

Some people are so much concerned about the immorality of Socialism, that they overlook the absence of morality under the present system.

Mr. Samuel Gompers should be delighted at the opportunity presented him by the growing number of injunctions to show the dangerous effects of Socialism in the trades unions.

Spring fashions will be conspicuous this year for the increased number of working women who won't be able to observe them.

The prospect of having their union funds enjoined during a strike is not an argument for high dues as the one way by which labor can defeat the capitalists.

A political corpse like Grover Cleveland would be a fitting presidential candidate for a dying party.

It now appears that the miners won everything but the strike.

The people who are constantly worrying about who'll do the dirty work under Socialism are usually the ones who are doing the dirty work under capitalism.

The Socialist vote follows the injunction.

The middle class never discovered that labor had any rights until the trusts began to make it impossible for the small capitalists to exploit the working class.

When equal opportunity is assured no woman will refuse to become a mother because of fear for her children's future.

A Socialist made this year will be worth ten converted through campaign oratory next year. The more Socialists made now, the more campaigners later on.

The preacher who proclaims that human nature can not be changed is wasting good time trying to save souls from hell fire, and is drawing a salary under false pretences.

Socialism will be fought because it stands for something worth fighting for.

X RAYS

BY JOHN M. WORK
(Member of the National Quorum from Iowa)

Pity a poor, old Democratic party that is blind and halt and deaf, but not dumb. Noise has always been its long suit.

They are trying to make out now that warships are very cheap, costing only six or eight million dollars each. If we had a social system wherein the people of the world could treat each other decently they would be dear at any price.

Mr. Schwab has paid ten thousand dollars for a piano which was made to order and fits in with the general style and furnishings of the building into which it is to be placed. He is to be congratulated on having such a fine instrument. No Socialist will envy him the possession of it, but we are all of the opinion that the men who make pianos and the others who do useful work in this world ought also to have the possession of and the time to use a like instrument.

Once there was a slave. He worked for his master and was reluctantly given enough of the product of his toil to keep him alive and enable him to reproduce his species. To keep him in servitude a heavy ball was chained to his ankle and fastened with a padlock. Once a year he had access to the key, which unlocked this padlock and could have taken it off and gone free. But, instead of doing so, he invariably took this opportunity to fasten a still stronger chain to his ankle. Yes, but you say, he was a fool—he was crazy. Be careful, don't call yourself names.

Mortgage-ridden farmers and boss-ridden parties are familiar, but now comes a capitalist publication and tells us that Waterbury, Connecticut, is "union-ridden." That is a new one. It is refreshing, indeed, to hear of the unions being in the saddle. All too often they are under the saddle, with the courts and the army on top. Sure-

ly no one ought to object if a set of men who have been ridden as long and as persistently as the workingmen, now and then turn the tables and do the riding act themselves. Give us more union-ridden towns. Those magnificent unionists of Waterbury are beginning to get class conscious. They will make splendid Socialists one of these days. Then Waterbury will be ridden by the workingmen in good reality.

Is life, worth living? That depends on how you live it. If you spend your time attempting to gain selfish ends, it surely is not worth living. But if you spend just as little time on yourself as is positively necessary, and consume the bulk of it in an attempt to make the world brighter and better for the masses of humanity, then life is abundantly worth living. It is entirely possible, however, for you to want to work for humanity and to think that you are doing so when you are in reality doing no good at all. You may be skimming over the surface of things. You may be doing work that is utterly ephemeral, work that ends with the doing and leaves no lasting effect. In order to do work for humanity that will count, you must do the thing that is timely. The other species of effort you may name is mild and meaningless compared with it. Only by plunging into the Socialist movement can you make your life count for the utmost.

THE DAILY SOCIALIST.

Our issue this week is largely made up of cartoons and extracts from "The Daily Socialist," published on Friday, March 28, to Monday, March 30. It was a Strike Special, sent out to help the strikers and to counteract the misrepresentations of the Capitalist dailies.

This strike was a genuine spontaneous uprising of Labor against Capital and we were determined Labor should have one true spokesman.

The only other daily in the city "The Star," that pretended to stand for Labor forsook its cause at the critical moment, advising to accept the humiliating terms of the Company. Our cartoon on the first page shows how "The Press" is controlled. The "hot air" speech of the editor, as quoted in that cartoon, is an exact reproduction from one of his wild editorials.

The workers are learning that none but a Socialist paper can be trusted to fight Labor's battles to a finish. That was the mission of "The Daily Socialist."

Not only was the press against the strikers, but the pulpit, so far as reported, was without exception. Many sermons were delivered on the "tied-up" Sunday and they all criticized the men.

Of course, Why not? The preachers get their salaries from the business men and capitalists. Why should they speak against those who hire them?

The mayor, the police, the judges, the lawyers, the bankers, the preachers, the editors, the business men, all against the strikers! Why? Because they all belong to the one capitalist class and stand for their own interests.

Many are asking the difference between the Socialist Labor Party, which had a meeting in the Armory Sunday night, and the Socialist Party which this paper stands for. There is practically no difference, if you judge by the reported utterances of the S. L. P. speakers since the strike begun. But this is the difference as shown by the official platforms. The Socialist Labor Party is opposed to the Labor Unions, while the Socialist Party favors them.

The Socialist Labor Party has organized an independent Labor organization in the United States known as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance—aimed to take the place of the ordinary Unions. But it is insignificant and most of the members of the S. L. P. have abandoned their party position and joined the Socialist Party which always, by its official declarations, and everywhere in fact, works hand in hand with the Labor Unions.

In one word, the S. L. P. is against the Unions. The Socialist Party is for them. The vast majority of the Socialists of the United States belong to the Socialist Party.

Why every married man should be a Socialist? To give your children a fair show in the world.

WHY STRIKES FAIL



WHY THE STRIKE FAILED.

The striking street car employes in Seattle, like the striking miners in Pennsylvania, have won everything except the strike. The Company reserves the right to employ non-union men. That means the Union has no power to enforce better conditions, higher wages or shorter hours.

Now we ask, why this strike and other strikes fail? There is one great and chief reason, namely, there are too many men out of a job.

Question No. 1.

How did the Company succeed in maintaining so many cars on such short notice? Because Seattle was full of unemployed men. The most of the scabs were like one whom the editor of The Socialist labored with to abandon his car. He said he was the only one of his family at work and he had been working around at "most any old thing" for a long time past.

It was because of this army of the unemployed, hungry for a chance to work, that the strikers' places were filled so readily.

Question No. 2.

Why again, was it that the strikers yielded so readily to the demands of the Company? They started out bold as lions, organized a sudden Union and struck within twenty-four hours, out of sympathy with the Tacoma Union, whose strike was being broken with men from the Seattle lines. This was a splendid exhibition of Union spirit and of Union tactics.

What made them retreat in four days? Because they were afraid of being themselves thrown into that "army of the unemployed." The uncertainty of future employment is a dread spectre to take the courage out of a man.

Question No. 3.

Why, again, were not all the unions called out and Seattle tied up so tight as not to be able to get a meal of victuals? Why not call out the carpenters, the waitresses, the cooks, the telephone girls, the electrical workers, the engineers, the miners? The Company, the city, the county, the railways, and all business, could have been paralyzed by such a general strike.

Why was it not done? Because of the same terrible fear of becoming one of the "unemployed army." Jobs are so hard to get that men dare not take any chances of losing them.

The only possible way to win the strike was to tie up the city in a grip of iron, and this simply could not be done. The men, the various unions would not stand for it for fear of the consequences.

The One Monster Reason.

This vast army of the unemployed, the Industrial Reserve Army, as Marx calls it, is the one mighty cause of strike failures.

You can never make strikes a success, you can never get better conditions so long as these unemployed thousands remain.

What Makes the Unemployed? The machine, the modern machine, is what makes the unemployed.

Ten men used to make sausages. One man, with a machine, now does the work of ten.

Where are the nine? In the army of the unemployed.

Five men used to set type. One man with a linotype machine now does the work of the five.

Where are the four?? In the army of the unemployed!

A hundred men used to cut wheat with scythes. One man with a reaper now does the work of the hundred. Where are the ninety-nine? In the army of the unemployed.

A thousand men used to make boots and shoes. A hundred men with machines now do the work of the thousand. Where are the nine-hundred? In the army of the unemployed.

Everywhere it is the same. The work of the world is now done by a few men with the help of machines. The rest of the men have to fight for their chance to work at those machines.

The most awful fact of modern times is this fact of two armies, the army of the employed and the army of the unemployed.

What to Do About It.

A general strike might succeed, if you could get a general strike.

The only possible way to do this would be to get the two armies together into one vast Labor Union and then all strike together and hold together till capital came to terms.

This is a beautiful theory, cherished by many a labor leader, but quite impracticable.

It is impracticable because capital has the machines, owns the machines, and has the power to keep the machines, until labor starves for lack of ability to use the machines.

Labor has no wealth. Capital has all wealth. Labor will starve in a month. Capital can live a year on what it has in store.

Labor can not hold together because it must have food.

Capital can hold together because it has food in plenty.

Why Not Take the Machines?

Why then should not one vast Labor Union dispossess capital, take possession of the machines and use them for the benefit of all the workers?

Here are the machines. A few men working ten hours a day can produce enough for all. Why not let all men have their turn at the machines and work two hours a day? We should then produce as much as now, all men would be employed, and none have to work more than two hours a day?

What is in the Way?

Only one obstacle exists to such a wished-for combination of all workmen into one vast Labor Union. What is that? The forces of Government now in the hands of capital.

What was it brought the first chill and check to the enthusiasm and success of the strikers last week? The appointment of eighteen scab street car employes as special policemen, armed with authority and guns, by a Republican mayor.

What stopped the teamsters from obstructing the progress of scab cars? Arrests and fines by capitalist officers and courts.

What compelled speakers and sympathizers on the streets to shut their mouths? Wholesale arrests by order of the chief of police, and arbitrary fines for unproved offenses imposed by capitalist judges at the especial request of a capitalist city attorney.

What killed the strike in Tacoma? And what did they hold in reserve here in Seattle? The Federal injunction to order every man to stay in his own room and to speak to nobody, if that were thought best by the judge. If you disobey, the military and the prison for contempt of court.

Is It Not Plain.

Do you see what you are up against? All the powers of government are in the hands of your capitalist opponents. Workingmen can never take possession of what belongs to them while the powers of government are against them.

What then? How to get those powers? Only one way. Unite at the Ballot Box and elect your own class into power. Then it would be possible to get possession of those modern machines of production, run them for the wealth of all, give each man a work day of two hours, and abolish strikes forever.

All strikes against big capital will fail and must fail, until labor votes itself into power and takes possession of the machines of production for its own benefit.

But that is Socialism.

A FALSE PREMISE.

The great contention of the company and all their sympathizers in this fight is, "Personal Liberty is denied by the Unions." We must never deny the great fundamental principle of American Institutions, that of "Personal Liberty," so they argue. If a man wants to work for this company without joining the union, you have no right to compel him to join. That is to infringe his "Personal Liberty."

That is the style of "chewing the rag" which took up the time of the conference committee all day Sunday. That explains the Harmon propositions found in another column.

How They Love "the Scab." This argument for "Personal Liberty" means, boiled down, just this: "No organization of workmen shall be permitted. Workingmen must be kept in competition with one another. Capital can unite and crush out all small business competition. The Standard Oil Company was not infringing "Personal Liberty" when it drove all little oil dealers out of business.

The Seattle Electric Company is not infringing "Personal Liberty" when it builds a rival line to Renton and is crushing out the old line! Oh, No!

But when the Workingmen, in order to preserve the merest remnant of "Personal Liberty" under the iron rule of these capitalist combinations, when they combine, it is the denial of a Divine Right! What infinite Rot!

No Liberty is possible to the Workingman without combination. Alone and isolated, he is helpless. The "scab" would not only make himself a slave, but all his brothers too!

The Unions stand for the only principle that can ameliorate the workingman's conditions, namely, the principle of Union!

The Socialists are the embodiment of this principle. Their famous watchword, originated by their great thinker, Marx, is this: "Workingmen of the world Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win."

The working class are now slaves. Union in Trades Unions makes their condition a little more tolerable. Union at the Ballot Box will free them completely.

No matter how much higher wages they can force from Capital, there is no way of getting all that belongs to them by means of the Labor Union.

The Capitalist will still have the "government," its police, its military, its courts, to force submission. Right here in Seattle, if you allow this fight

to be prolonged, all these forces of government will be used against you, and you will be beaten. In order to win, you must strike quick and strike hard.

So you see, in order to win the great battle of Labor against Capital, you must capture the Powers of Government. Then you can get all you produce.

"THE STAR" FORSAKES THE MEN.

Here are the traitorous headlines and announcements in "The Star," the Seattle "Star." What could be better calculated to discourage the strikers than such advice from one it supposed to be its friend? It was just what the company wanted. "The Star" actually advised acceptance of the company's disgraceful terms—and congratulated the company to boot.

HERE ARE THE WORDS OF "THE STAR":

Electric Company Makes Proposition Which Labor Leaders Are Strongly Inclined to Accept With Slight Modifications—Union Will Not Be Discriminated Against and Strikers Will Be Reinstated—Other Questions to Be Arbitrated.

The street car strike is all but settled. The committee appointed on Saturday to work for an adjustment of the difficulty will doubtless agree to recommend a proposition for settlement submitted by the Seattle Electric Company, which is printed on this page. The agreement embodies everything that the Street Railway Men's Union has contended for except the demand that none but union men be employed.

To the credit of the Union, be it said, that it last night gave the lie to this cowardly give-away. They rejected the Company's proposal "with a shout."

AND HERE IS "THE STAR'S" EDITORIAL COMMENT:

"The strike is practically settled. Street cars will be running within the next few hours."

"The Seattle Electric Company is to be congratulated on coming to terms with its men."

FOLLOWING ITS CAPITALIST INSTINCTS.

This is what is to be expected of any Capitalist Daily.

Workingmen will have to learn that no one but Socialists will stay with them to the finish in any real fight against Capital.

It is only when a workingman becomes a Socialist that he sees the class struggle, the class war, the class antagonism, between Capital and Labor. He cannot be cheated into expecting anything from the capitalists, except what is forced out of them.

The Socialist does not parley. He fights. He does not try Diplomacy, but Battle. He knows that capital will always win at the game of cunning.

The Socialist workingman will never yield to the capitalist. He will never sell out either. He stands by his own class to the end, if he loses, he loses while fighting. He makes no terms. He is never off his guard. He can never be induced or seduced into regarding the capitalist as the friend of Labor.

So it is only the Socialist who is fitted to fight even a Labor Union battle to the best advantage.

The capitalists are afraid of the Socialist workingman. He fights them in the Union and in politics. He strikes for better terms with his employers and he strikes at the Ballot Box for his whole product.

The Socialist carries on eternal war against capital. He fights it wherever and whenever he gets a chance. He cannot be deceived. He knows the whole situation.

Men, whether you win or lose this strike, remember that your only true friend is the Socialist workingman. Distrust all capitalist papers and all capitalist workingmen, too.

THE CRITICAL MOMENT—LEADERS FAIL.

We give elsewhere the fundamental reason why the great street car strike failed in Seattle. It might have developed into a tremendous demonstration of the power of organized Labor in the city. Labor and Capital might have been arrayed against each other in this city like two great giants fighting for supremacy.

Capital would have won, because it has all the weapons of warfare in its possession. But the drawing of the lines of battle would have been of immense benefit to the working class in this city. It would have "created a class struggle." Thousands would have become "class-conscious." The mask of friendship for Labor professed by "business-men" would have been stripped off. The working class would have been taught to look to itself for its own emancipation and to know the capitalist class as its necessary foe.

It is possible such a tremendous demonstration of the revolutionary spirit as a general strike would have revealed, might have terrified the capitalists into granting what the strikers demanded—temporarily, of course.

It is worth while noticing and recording why this United Action was not called for.

The critical moment arrived when the Strikers' Union met on Tuesday afternoon to receive the report of their committee. That committee consisted of Mr. Harmon, chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Federation of Labor; Mr. Rust, secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Union; both old and experienced Labor Union men, and Mr. Webster, a young man from the Carmen's Union.

This committee brought with them into the meeting another committee of the Business Men. These "Business Men" made the first report to the Union. It was a long and special plea for the Railway Company, urging the men to accept the company's terms.

Then what did Messrs. Harmon and Rust do? They had no advice to give. They had no advice to give.

Harmon went further and told the men he believed the company had granted all the terms they would grant.

This was the critical moment. This new and inexperienced union of street car men, who had put up a magnificent fight during five days, acting as one man, with no sign of weakening, who had the night before rejected the company's humiliating terms with a whoop, this splendid body of men, with the true fighting spirit in them, were disheartened and thrown down, because at the critical moment, these two trusted leaders had not the courage, the backbone, the revolutionary spirit, the class-consciousness, to stand up and assume command of the situation. In a word, they were actuated by the capitalist spirit of conciliation.

Comrade Hutchinson has been elected city organizer of local Seattle by the City Central Committee. Now let everybody turn to and help him organize. Seattle ought to have at least Ten Branches instead of Three.

and compromise instead of the working-class spirit of struggle and conflict. They did not dare to do a great thing for their class, but yielded to the "Community of Interests" idea which still haunts the minds of so many workmen.

When once they learn that Capital and Labor cannot have any common interests, that there is an inevitable class-war between them, such a spectacle will be impossible.

All honor to the Street Car men! They are catching the true working-class spirit.

NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS.

Weekly Press Bulletin.
National Headquarters Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., March 25, 1903.

The Kentucky state convention of the Socialist Party, held March 22, was the largest in its history and attended by 169 delegates. The following ticket was nominated: For governor, Adam Nagel, Newport; lieutenant-governor, F. R. Markert, Louisville; treasurer, James Poocek, Bellevue; auditor, J. C. Wells, Louisville; superintendent of public instruction, Daniel Bond, Science Hill; commissioner of agriculture, A. A. Lewis, Covington; clerk of court of appeals, Daniel McMath. Press reports state that there was great enthusiasm when state platform was adopted.

Utah state convention will be held in Federation of Labor Hall, 76 South Second street, Salt Lake City, Tuesday, April 7th, 1903. Among the business to be transacted will be annual election of officers, establishing of official state paper, consideration of municipal platforms and lecture courses for propaganda work.

Comrade Frederick G. Strickland will probably make a lecturing and organizing tour of the middle western states, during the summer months, under the direction of the National Lecture Bureau of the Socialist Party.

Secretary Miller, of Local Norfolk, Va., reports steady growth in membership, and that Socialism is becoming popular in Norfolk. He says: "When the Dixie boys are aroused and know they are right there will be no stopping them. Come what may you will find them on the skirmish line, to stay there until we are in the capitalist strong-hold; which is the seat of the federal government."

Comrade John W. Slayton begins his tour under the National Headquarters at Erie, Pa., April 7th, speaking for the Carpenters' Union. The Central Labor Union of Warren, Ohio, has him for a big demonstration on the

9th, and carpenters of Washington, Pa., on the 17th. The intervening dates will be filled with meetings among Ohio Locals. Slayton spoke at Toledo, March 24th, with "Mother" Jones, at a big Socialist meeting and the Toledo Times said his address was "Masterly and the clearest exposition of the Socialist position ever heard in Toledo."

Local charter, during the week, to Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Comrade George D. Herron has placed the entire arrangements of his lecture for the Socialist Party, after his return from Europe this summer, under the control of the National Headquarters.

Plans are being developed at National Headquarters, by which every part of the United States can be covered by organizers and speakers for the Socialist Party.

Among the orders for supplies received during the week, was one for 10,000 of the new platforms, and one thousand membership cards from Massachusetts, and another from Colorado for 3,000 applications, 2,000 "Why Socialists Pay Dues," and 1,000 membership cards.

Socialists of Chicago held largest public demonstration in their history on Thursday, March 26th, in the interest of the Socialist Party municipal ticket. The Auditorium, the largest hall in the city, was packed to the doors, at admission of 25 cents to \$1. "Mother" Jones and Father McGrady were the principal speakers and both were greeted with enthusiasm. In beginning her address, "Mother" Jones said:

"I feel that we are nearing the end of our fight, because this magnificent gathering tells me the workers are at last awakening to a sense of their duty. It is only when our masters see us politically organized that they fear us, and realize our power. As long as we are content with an industrial organization the capitalists can get in-junctions against us and can send troops to shoot us down. But when we gain control of the government they will not have the power to shoot us. We will be the government."

T. A. HICKEY'S APPOINTMENTS IN WASHINGTON.

Spokane, March 28-29-30-31.
Calfax, April 1st.
Walla Walla, April 2-3.
Pasco, April 4.
North Yakima, April 5-6.
Buckley, April 7.
Puyallup, April 8.
Tacoma, April 8-10-11.
Ballard, April 12.
Seattle, April 13.
Comrade Hickey is a hustler. He is author of several pamphlets on Socialism and will do good wherever he goes.

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NEBRASKA BREEZES

THE CLOSED DOOR OF PRIVILEGE.
The massive door of privilege
Is closed and double barred,
A giant hand has turned the lock,
Within a sound is heard
Of mirth and sumptuous feasting,
While without the myriads press,
Knocking at the bolted entrance,
Crying, "Open unto us!"

Knocking at the door of privilege,
With shout and deafening din,
Crying, "Open wide the bolted door
And let the masses in,
Within is royal feasting,
For King Mammon's idle few,
Without we fall with famine,
Oh, let us share with you!"

But the guarded door of Privilege
Is closed and double barred;
King Mammon's hand has turned the
lock,
Within a sound is heard
Of ribaldry and jeering,
While without the myriads press
Shouting sternly, mid the tumult:
"Give us Justice, Right, Redress!"

But the guarded door of Privilege
Will one day be unbarred,
King Mammon's hand shall tremble
And within a sound be heard
Of wail and hopeless pleading,
As without the myriads press,
Breaking down the closed-up entrance,
Thundering, "Thus we make re-
dress!"

The "Old Round Tower" of Privilege
With all its hidden store
Of Nature's wealth and art of man,
By Mammon lorded o'er
And shared among the golden few
Must all its doors unbar;
Nor brutes' device nor will of man
Shall ever close them more;

For Truth shall thunder down the
doors
And Mammon's kingdom fall,
And Justice make the old round tower
A privileged place for all;
And then no more the favored few
Shall gorge while myriads press
And begging at the guarded door
Cry, "Open unto us!"

The above is a poem from my book, "Morning Echoes," published in 1900. It will be readily seen that while then an ardent and well-meaning Socialist, my philosophy was muddled. I had not read Marx. Throughout my whole book and all my early poems the scientific, clear-headed Socialist discovers a glaring lack of the "materialistic conception" philosophy of Marx and Engels, yet not having access to scientific books, how could I write other than well-meaning Utopian verses, or a "mild form" of revolutionary sentiment? And have we not all come up the same pathway? Our own experiences should teach us to be patient with new converts, and to be diligent in guiding them from the ruts we encountered in the ascent.

The Materialistic Conception and the Class Struggle took much of the poetry out of me, as it sent much of my sentiment a-glimmering, yet I will one day write genuine Socialist philosophy in verse, for there is a deal of genuine poetry yet to be dug out of the Class Struggle, but it is of the stimulating rather than of the narcotic kind.

Song and Speech-making Banquet.
The Woman's Socialist Union of Omaha gave a very creditable and instructive song and speech-making banquet at state headquarters some days past. Many of the newly initiated soap-box comrades selected each a favorite Socialist song for a ten-minute comment speech, after which all joined in singing the song.
Comrade J. W. Hawkins, the Omaha organization "hustler," read the following song, "Workers of England," which he translated: "Workers, Slave Tollers."

Workers of England.
Workers, slave tollers, why crouch ye like crabs?
Why clutch an existence of insult and want?

Why stand to be plucked by an army of ravens,
Or hoodwink'd forever by twaddle and cant?
Think on the wrongs ye bear,
Think on the rags ye wear.
Think on the insults endur'd from your birth;
Tolling in snow and rain,
Rearing up heaps of grain,
All for the tyrants who grind you to earth.

Your brains are as keen as the brains of your masters,
In swiftness and strength ye surpass them by far.
Ye've brave hearts to teach you to laugh at disasters,
Ye vastly outnumber your tyrants in war.
Why then like cowards stand
Using not brain or hand,
Thankful like dogs when they throw you a bone?
What right have they to take
Things that ye toil to make?
Know ye not, comrades, that all is your own?

Rise in your might, brothers, bear it no longer,
Assemble in masses throughout the whole land;
Show these incapables who are the stronger,
When workers and idlers confronted shall stand.
Thro' Castle, Court and Hall,
O'er their acres all,
Onwards we'll press like the waves of the sea,
Claiming the wealth we've made,
Ending the spoiler's trade:
Labor shall triumph and tollers be free.

Below is Comrade Hawkins' comment on the above song. I hope every wage-slave who reads it will ponder over it:

AN APPEAL OF A WAGE SLAVE TO HIS CLASS.
Socialists are all well aware of the reason the workers and tollers are so craven, and why they clutch this existence of insult and want. History shows us that the workers, through the upper status of barbarism and from the dawn of civilization, have been kept in subjection by these means: First, under slavery by the dread of the soldiery; second, under serfdom by religion and the false teaching of the theologians and teachers; and third, or at the present time, by public opinion.

Men are molded by their economic condition or the way they get their living.

Society Composed of Master and Worker.
The society of mankind today is composed of the master and the worker. The master owns the means that we must have access to in order to live, therefore, he certainly owns us. The masters make the laws and lay down the line of our education and set the code of morals of society. We are taught in our childhood to live up to this moral code laid down by them, and we do it for fear of condemnation or public opinion. Do you think it moral in a man to starve when by stealing a loaf of bread he can prolong his life? Or to accept charity when by so doing he might furnish his family with meat? Still how many there are who die before they would steal or accept charity, actually starve to death, and why? Fear of public opinion.

The chief reason why the workers "stand to be plucked" is because they do not think. They let others think for them, consequently it is easy for the capitalist, with the aid of politicians, to hoodwink them and blind them to their own interest.

"If you vote for me and my party," some politicians will say, "we will make laws to benefit you workers, we will work to get you an eight-hour day, and give you a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." or possibly tell them they will fight in the legislature to get them a minimum wage of \$3.00 per day. What "twaddle and cant;" if the workers would think, they would find out what fakirs they have been voting for. How can the capitalist or his hirelings make any laws to benefit our class? Surely if he grants us any concession he will injure his own interest or the interest of his own class.

"Think on the wrongs you bear, think on the rags you wear, think on the insults endured from your birth."

They Produce Nothing But Hell.
Think of our shoddy clothes, and consider why it is that we, who produce everything, are not able to wear broadcloth, and our wives silks and satins. As long as we receive wages we are being robbed of the greater part of our toll, or of what we produce with our toll. Robbed by the master class, who produce nothing but hell, and who live on the best and wear the finest, and to whom we must go to beg for a job, and if we are lucky enough to get one we receive for our toll a mere existence—just what the mule gets.

It need not be so. If the workers would think and then act in unison at the ballot box, we would not have to toll in snow and rain to produce wealth and luxury for the parasitic class, who live in idleness; but we could

enjoy the full product of our toll by making the parasites produce their own living.

Peace on Earth and Good Will Made Possible.

This would abolish the Class Struggle, and this would abolish war, and we could have peace on earth and good will among men. Any intelligent person knows that labor produces all wealth. It also takes brains to produce wealth, for machinery is wealth; and it takes brains, coupled with labor, to produce machinery, and I fail to find any record of the master class making any invention. Now I contend that the workers' brains are keener than the master's, from the fact that the workers invent all the labor-saving devices, but from which they receive no benefit.

Cultivate Not Brains, But Cunning.

"The brainy capitalist? Don't you believe it, it is not brains, it is cunning. We all inherit cunning from our animal progenitors, and we can cultivate this cunning. The system we live under causes the capitalist to cultivate this cunning to attain success, and as a class they will plunge a nation into war to make profit. They don't go to war, though—they don't have to—they use the worker for that purpose, for he don't think.

The Appeal to Patriotism.

They will come to the worker and wave the flag in his face to arouse his patriotism, and give him a cock and bull story about the "Maine" being blown up, and start him off to shoot—who? His own class, working men of other countries. But the great lover of his country, or the patriotic working man, don't own enough of his country to bury his body when he dies. These same working men who don't own enough of the land of the nation to plant a bean, will be called on in the near future by the President of this oligarchy to join his National Reserve of 100,000, to be used at his discretion, in cases where the governors of states may decide not to call out the state militia when strikes and riots occur, and these men who belong to the working class will be expected to shoot the working class.

It is true that we surpass them in "swiftness and strength," for we see that the workers in all ages have borne the hardships and privations imposed upon them, and we have fought the battles of the rich, and after all survive in overwhelming numbers, which proves we are the survival of the fittest. "Why, then, like cowards, stand using not brain nor hand?"

Because we have not all learned our material interest. Others have capitalistic minds and think: "Oh, well, I know I am skinned as a worker, but it will rise to be a capitalist, and do some skinning myself in the near future." But will he? Statistics show that he has a slim chance of success. For out of every 100 who launch out in business, ninety-seven fail; only three succeed.

Their Reward in the New Jerusalem.

But there are others, yet who are thankful for a "bone" or charity, and who believe that God didn't intend that they should have the good things of life here, that they are here on probation and will get their reward in the New Jerusalem, and that the less they get in this life, the more they will get when they are dead.

"What right have they to take things that you toil to make?"
Socialists have learned this and have organized themselves into a political party for the purpose of capturing the government.

"Rise in your might, brothers, bear it no longer."

We Will Show the Incapables.

I think it high time for the workers to rise in their might, or can it be that they want more oppression before they rise and join the only political organization that represents the interest of the working class—the Socialist Party. When we, as a class, learn our material interest enough to vote the Socialist ticket straight, we will capture the government.

Then we will show the "incapables," who are the stronger, and we will march in triumph through the courts and halls, and survey the wealth we have made and the acres our class have cultivated, and we will declare to the world that from henceforth all that we have created, viz., the machinery of production and distribution, shall be used for the benefit of the human race, and not for the benefit of a few, as it is today.

When that day comes, and it is not far distant, will Labor, indeed, be free, and every man, and woman, and child will have an equal opportunity, and by this means alone can we establish the brotherhood of man.

Don't Be Hypnotized.

In conclusion I might add. Don't let Republicans or Democrats, or, in short, the master class, hypnotize you, working men, for they will try to do that by offering us Government Ownership, Municipal Ownership, and Public Ownership of Public Utilities, etc. They will do anything but get off our backs, and it is the wage system that makes it possible for them to ride on our backs.

Therefore, our class must stand for the abolition of the wage system that is the supreme issue. The Socialist Party alone stands for this, and when we gain the day by our ballot, we must be ready as men to assert our rights. This is why we want the workers to study Socialism, so that our vote shall be an intelligent vote. Our vote must be the vote of men, and not of slaves, for slaves never think. In the meantime, while we are educating and organizing ourselves, and the trusts are developing, and the machinery of production is getting into the hands of fewer individuals, we, fellow workers, will have to elect working men to office. Don't lose sight of this. Working men, men of our own class.

Our orders to these workers, whom we elect, must be: Your question to any measure that is introduced shall be: "Will this measure benefit the working class? If it does, I am for it. If it does not, then I am against it."
J. W. HAWKINS.

Never have I seen the slaves so thoroughly aroused as I find them on my present trip soap-boxing over the state. Big and enthusiastic crowds in streets. The overthrow of the Republic at Washington and establishment of a military despotism is what makes their teeth rattle. How they grit their molars and roll their eyes when I tell them that they are all Roosevelt's private soldiers, subject to court-martial if called upon to shoot their father or brother (if they happen to be Socialists or workmen on strike), if he refuses to march to the slaughter. Yes, they are pulling the bags of wool out of their ears now and they are even beginning to read. Think of it! The voting slaves are beginning to read the Socialist papers! What next? May we not expect them most any minute to pattern after the mule who, tied to an empty stall and fed on post hay for a week, on the seventh day cried out for a change, a complete revolution, and breaking his rope, went out into the clover lot to get a square meal? Look out for a change, comrades, the voting cattle are waking up.

J. EDWARD MORGAN.

Ballard Local will hold a Basket Social at Maccabee Temple, Friday evening, April 10.
Emil Herman and Comrade Klahr will speak at Maccabee Hall, Sunday, April 5, 4 p. m.

FATHER McGRADY IS IN GOOD STANDING.

Dayton, Ohio, March 10, 1903.
Dear Comrade, In your last issue of "The Socialist" I notice a small piece in a rather obscure place which is so misleading in its tone and the impression which it would leave on your readers that I cannot let it pass by unnoticed.

It is that part that speaks of Father Hagerty and Father McGrady, and if I remember aright runs about like this: "Father Hagerty will speak at — at — He is a priest in good standing and is not like McGrady, etc." Now this would naturally leave the impression that Father McGrady was not a priest in good standing, which is not the case.

Father McGrady is a priest in good standing. He has simply resigned his parish, the same as a minister who had resigned his charge. He is a member of the church, a priest the same as ever before, and is now under no ecclesiastical censure whatever. It is necessary that this be understood correctly, as Father McGrady is constantly lecturing and the comrades need to know the exact truth relative to his standing in the church.

In the future all of the dates for lectures by Father Hagerty will be handled by myself and inquiries for engagements should be addressed to me.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fraternally yours,
W. G. CRITCHLOW,
26 Pruden Building, Dayton, Ohio.

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We received Tuesday, direct from the tea fields, a lot of English Breakfast Tea, and our lot was the only one passed by the Custom Officers, on account of purity. You will find this tea equal to any you have paid 50c for, introduction price, the pound **25c**

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A TEN YEAR OLD'S SPEECH

Speech Spoken by Nina Parks at the Socialist Meeting March 22, 1903, in Cripple Creek, Colorado.

My speech is but a short one, with many a tangled thread. Of the idle rich in comfort, and the poor who strive for bread. My first word that of labor, for by labor all may live, And produce abundance, and to the worthy give.

But to give up all the product for a portion back in cash, And continuing on the process will surely bring a crash. To continue on the process of getting, less than giving, Would eat away a fortune and shorten up one's living.

That the worker does this daily needs no argument from me, While at Homestead, Pennsylvania, work made wealthy Carnegie. Had labor got the product of all it earned for him, Instead of poverty and rags, 't would be clothed both neat and trim.

Then wages as a basis, and called pay for honest work, When it's partial of the product, balance going to a skirt, Is the vilest nonsense surely, tho' based on present plan, When continued is subversive of the sacred rights of man.

The making of a product in machinery, cloth or gold Is the result of effort, by laborers many fold, While the idle rich enjoy it and never turn a hand Yet appropriate the blessings produced in all the land.

Labor should be well rewarded, and by getting all it earns Will subvert the rights of no one, yet the laborer who learns To use the power of ballot has started on the road To felieve the proletariat of a portion of his load.

While labor does its work and produces something good, It must be contented with shelter, clothes and food, While the owners of machinery and a little spot of earth Are the real kings of finance, by money, not by birth.

Shall the system be continued, or a change made soon or late Is the question which confronts us and one that will not wait, While Socialist policies are treated now with mirth The real working man believes his heaven should be on earth.

The above verses were written by James H. Parks for his ten-year-old daughter to speak at the Socialist meeting March 22, 1903.

If the editor finds it possesses any merit worth publishing, he is at liberty to use same, if not, consign it to the wastebasket.

Fraternally, JAMES H. PARKS.

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT.

Our California Comrades have been sowing the seeds of disintegration by their endorsement of the Independent Labor ticket and refraining from placing a straight-out Socialist ticket in the field. Had they been guided by the judgment born of experience they would never have taken this step. Other and more pretentious organizations have been disrupted and practically disbanded because of their fusion tendencies.

Because a man is a member of a labor union does not signify that he can be trusted. In fact, while I applaud all efforts of organize labor because I know that through such organization only can we make it possible to prolong the struggle for existence until Socialism can win, I know from experience that the average union man does not know the meaning of class-consciousness.

The average union man wants all he can get for his labor, but he insists always that the man who has capital invested should also be assured of a reasonable profit on his investment. You see he has not thought out the problem of the creation of capital. That only comes to him after numerous and tedious efforts and when the light comes you need no union labor ticket, for he is a Socialist.

The labor unions taboo the discussion of politics, not because the rank and file of the labor unions believe it would injure the union, but because the union office-seekers—too frequent leaders—fear that it will lead the members to Socialism, which means enlightenment and liberty.

A union man myself and a worker for unionism, I claim the right to oppose the evils within the organization, and the greatest danger the union has to fight is the office-seeking heeler within its ranks. He is the Judas of unionism and, in every case of

in the election of a capitalist demagogue to the national Congress, as the mayor of San Francisco did. And ninety per cent. of the unions of New York endorsed the candidacy of this capitalist, notwithstanding the fact that his hypocrisy was as evident to the thinking man as it was of Mark Hanna when he declares his unbounded love for the working man.

The Socialists of California made a mistake and it is a blunder of the kind that calls for plain criticism. I doubt very much if the California Socialists who made this trade are proud of it. And if they are, I should want to inquire very closely into their theories of Socialism, for it ought to be plain that when any organization with principles such as those of the Socialist Party, sacrifices those principles to secure temporary victory, those who are to be blamed for that sacrifice have simply become ordinary demagogic politicians.

We must stand or fall, collectively, bearing the one banner, and that banner inscribed "Socialism and the Cooperative commonwealth."

Let us assist unionism and every organization of working men, but let us not, in doing this, sacrifice our principles nor forget the traditions which have made us the only organization in the history of the world that promised to return to all men liberty and equal rights.—Nathan A. Cole, in "Humanity," Hoboken, N. J.

A NEW REASON TO VOTE FOR CHICAGO.

We have on hand considerable evidence that the "Appeal" office at Girard still regards itself as the center of the Socialist movement in America and is disposed to treat the National Headquarters at Omaha as a sideshow. We have not room this week to print letters sent out by Associate Editors Utermann and Ricker criticizing the work of the National Office.

One thing is made further evident by this disagreement, namely, that the National Headquarters should be far removed from control by any newspaper or school. No editor should be

a member of the National Quorum. Let us put the Headquarters at Chicago, the national center of the country and embracing composite elements enough to maintain a proper balance of influences.

STRONG WORDS FROM DR. ANGUS

Prosser, Wash., March 30, 1903.

My Dear Comrade:—Shake, old man. Your stand is, and always has been, correct, although I could not see it until now. But you have pounded away, adhering to one plan of action. You have been impugned and bombarded for the stand taken. You are now emerging from the smoke of battle a conqueror. The "Appeal" is your best trophy, not to mention the California middle, the Thomas Neel affair, the referendum on national headquarters, Spokane platform, and last, but not least, that the actual wage slaves must be in the vanguard of the Socialist army.

Go at 'em, old man, and the Washington Socialists will back you. Enclosed \$2.50 for ten cards, and don't monkey with the name of your paper. Just pound away in your flat-footed style and keep the old banner, The Socialist, flying at the masthead.

Fraternally,
D. M. ANGUS, M. D.
P. S.—I wish this published, same as my letter in favor of "Appeal" a year ago.
D. M. V.

When you work for wages, who gets the most of what you produce, you or your employer? Think that out and you will be a Socialist.

What would be the Salvation of the world? That all workmen should vote together to take possession of what belongs to them.

The Philadelphia comrades have secured the Free Library of Economics and Political Science for their headquarters. They claim it's the finest in the country.

Victories have been scored in several Swedish cities.

Challenge from Untermann Accepted

Girard, March 24, 1903.

Dear Comrade:—I have just read your "Word in Reason" in the issue of March 22, of The Seattle Socialist. I hasten to tell you that I should have been glad to find a little more reason in it.

In the first place, I did not "labor to make it appear" as if the states of Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa and South Dakota were more representative of our party than Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kentucky and Iowa. What I wanted to show, and did show, in my opinion, was that you had forgotten to tell your readers that the percentages of the votes in the first-named states were as high, and higher, as those in the states you favored. (Wrong again! The average percentage in your four agricultural states was 1.9, and in our five was 2.5. But the votes in your five are only 21,550; in ours, 55,711.—Ed.)

As for your claiming that "I admitted your contention in the most naive manner" and am trying to transform the Socialist Party into a farmers' party, with a working-class attachment, the thing is too absurd to be worth more than a smile. In resenting the perverted notions about the Socialist farmers of the United States I have in no way given up my scientific standpoint, and in no way contended that either the wage-worker or the rural proletarian should be the leader of the movement. What I have really said, and what most of my readers, even those that make no pretense to your scientific precision and standing, have understood at the first glance, is that we should cease alluding to the proletariat as a distinct faction in the Socialist movement, which might endanger the safety of our party. And with a little attention and good will, you could have read that in so many words in the very editorial which you criticize. Kautsky's standpoint is exactly my own. For this reason I have not said "Farmers," but rural proletariat. That ought to be plain enough, even for a fault-finder like you.

That the Quorum "stands for this rural proletariat," is a wholly gratuitous assumption which you have evolved out of the unfathomable recesses of your own brain. In fact, Brother Titus, if you want to discuss a scientific proposition scientifically, you want to forget persons and think of things. (It is just because we do forget persons and remember only things and principles, that we mention persons freely. We do not regard persons as of the slightest account when discussing principles.—Ed.)

I hope you will let the boys know my opposition by publishing this letter. And if you think it worth while to "thresh out the farmers' question" in The Socialist, I shall be glad to take one side, if you will take the other. No odds given or accepted.

Yours fraternally,
ERNEST UNTERMANN.

This suits us exactly. We herewith invite Comrade Untermann to open the discussion with a definition of "Rural Proletariat."—Ed.

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