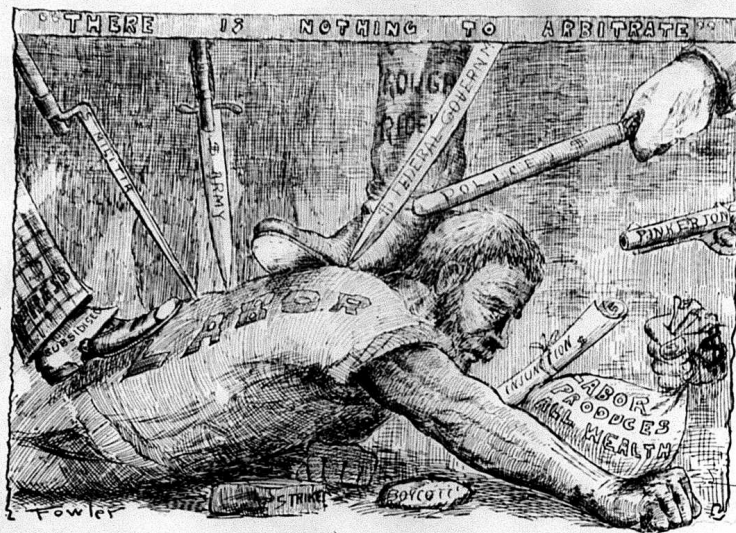




# WHY STRIKES FAIL



## WHY THE STRIKE FAILED.

The striking street car employees in Seattle, like the striking miners in Pennsylvania, have won everything except the strike. The union 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 of a job.

How did the Company succeed in getting so many cars on such short notice? Because Seattle was full of unemployed men. The most of the strikers 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.

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 specter to take the courage out of a man.

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 "hot dogs" or a haircut? 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 in 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 a strike a success, you can never get better conditions so long as these unemployed thousands remain.

What Makes the Unemployed? The machine, the modern machine, that makes the unemployed. 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 lineo 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 power to keep the machines, until labor starves for lack of ability to use the machines.

All 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.

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

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

What stopped the managers 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? Who's to blame for the order of the chief of police, and arbitrary fines for unproved offenses imposed by capitalist judges at the special request of a capitalist city attorney.

What killed the strike in Tacoma? And what did they hold in reserve were in Seattle? The Federal injunction to order every man to stay in his own room and to speak to nobody, if he 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. Workmen can never take possession of what belongs to them with the powers of government 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 Union." We must however 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. Workmen 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 Workmen, in order to preserve the meager 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 Workmen without combination. Alone and isolated he is helpless. The "scab" would not only make himself a slave, but all his brothers too!

The Union stand for the only principle that can ameliorate the working man's condition, namely, the principle of Union!

The Socialists are the embodiment of this principle. Their famous watchword, originated by their great thinker, Marx, is this: "Workmen 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 propose.

"THE STAR" FORSAKES THE MEN.

Here are the traitorous headlines and announcements in that "Labor Paper," the Seattle "Star." What could be better calculated to discourage the strikers than such advice from one 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. Labor Leaders Are Strongly Inclined to Accept With Slight Modifications—Union Will Not Be Discriminated Against and Strikers Will Be Arbitrated.

The street car strike is all but settled. The committee appointed on Saturday to work for an adjustment of the Seattle Electric Company's demand that none but union men be employed.

By the credit of the Union, he 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 finally 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 IS THE CAPITALIST INTENT:

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

Workmen 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 workman becomes a Socialist that he sees the class struggle, the class war, the class antagonism, between Capital and Labor. He cannot be cheated into accepting anything from the capitalist except what is forced out of them.

Marx is right. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.

The Socialist workman will never sell out either. He stands by his own class to the end. If he loses, he loses while fighting for his terms. He is never off his guard. He can never be isolated 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 Day battle to the best advantage.

The capitalist and his friends are afraid of the Socialist workman. He has the terms. He is never off his guard. He can never be isolated or seduced into regarding the capitalist as the friend of Labor.

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

Comrade Hutchinson has been elected city organizer for 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.

## 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 the most of the great giants fighting for supremacy.

Capital would have won, because it has all the weapons of modern war at its possession. But the drawing of the lines of battle would have been of immense benefit to the striking workers. It would have created a class struggle. Thousands would have been organized into a "class organization" of the mass of friendship for labor professed by "businessmen" 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 that a tremendous demonstration of the revolutionary spirit as a general strike would have revealed, might have terrified the capitalists into granting the strikers demanded—temporarily, of course.

It is worth while noting 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 "Parson'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? They had advice to give. Harmon went further and told the men he would like to see the company grant all the terms they would accept.

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 "Seattle Star" and its "Business Men" who had the night before rejected the street 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, to lead the workers to victory by the capitalist spirit of conciliation.

NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS.

Weekly Press Bulletin.

National Headquarters Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., March 28, 1903.

The Kentucky state convention of the Socialist Party, held March 22, was the largest in its history and attended by 150 delegates. The following ticket was nominated: For governor, Adam Nagor, Newport; lieutenant governor, F. R. Marlett, Louisville; treasurer, James Poesch, Louisville; auditor, J. C. Wells, Louisville; superintendent of public instruction, Daniel Bond, Science Hill; commissioner of agriculture, A. Lewis, Lexington; clerk of court of appeals, Daniel McMath. Press reports state that there was great enthusiasm among the delegates, and that the convention was a platform was adopted.

Utah state convention will be held in Federation of Labor Hall, 76 South Second street, Salt Lake City, Tuesday, April 19, 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: "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 stronghold, which is the seat of the federal government."

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

9th, and carpenters of Washington, on the 10th. The following dates will be filled with meetings: 10th Local, Dayton spoke at Toledo, March 25th, with "Mother" Jones, at a big Socialist meeting and Toledo Times said his address was "Master" and the clearest explanation of the Socialist position ever heard in Toledo."

Local charter, during the week in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Comrade George D. Aronson has placed the entire arrangements of 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 platform, and one thousand membership cards from Massachusetts, and another from Colorado for 2,000 applications 2,000 "Why Socialists Pay Dues," and 1,000 membership cards.

Socialists of Chicago held their largest public demonstration in their history on Tuesday, March 26th, in the interest of the Socialist Party municipal ticket. The Auditorium, the largest hall in Chicago, was packed to the doors, at admission of 25 cents to \$1. "Mother" Jones and Father McGoey 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 junctions against us and can send troops to shoot us down. But when we are organized as 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 25-29-30-31.   
Calfax, April 1st.   
Walla Walla, April 23.   
Pasco, April 4.   
North Yakima, April 5-6.   
Buckley, April 7.   
Puyallup, April 9.   
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.

With 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!"

Knocking at the door of privilege,  
With shout and deafening din,  
Crying, "Open wide the bolted door  
And let the light in,  
Within is royal feasting,  
For King Mammon's limbe 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 rivalry and jering,  
While without the myriads press,  
Shouting sternly, "mid the tumult:  
"Give us Justice, Right, Redress!"

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 modified, I had not  
read Marx. Throughout my whole  
book and all my early poems the  
scientific, clear-headed Socialist dis-  
covers a glaring lack of the "material-  
istic 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 revolution-  
ary sentiment? And have we not all  
come up the same pathway? Our own  
experiences should teach us to be pa-  
tient 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 I am sure that  
my sentiment-allegorizing, yet I will  
only one day write genuine Socialist phi-  
losophy 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 in-  
structive song and speech-making ban-  
quet at state headquarters some days  
past. Many of the newly initiated  
soap-box comrades selected each a  
favorite Socialist song or a ten-min-  
ute comment speech, after which all  
joined in singing the song.

Comrade J. W. Hawkins, the Omaha  
organization "hustler," read the follow-  
ing song, "Workers of England,"  
which he translated: "Workers,  
Slave Tollers."

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

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 holed o'er  
And shared among the golden few  
Must all its doors be unbar:  
Nor brass' device nor will of man  
Shall ever close them more;

Why stand to be plucked by an army  
of ravens,  
Or hoodwink'd forever by twaddle  
and cant?  
Think on the rags ye wear,  
Think on the insults endured from  
them;  
Think on the insults endured from  
them;  
Tolling in snow and rain,  
Waiting 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  
Lining up brains of hand,  
Thinking no odds 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  
land,  
Show these incapables who are the  
stronger,  
When workers and idlers confronted  
shall stand.

Tiro's Castle, Court and Hall,  
O'er their acres all,  
Onwards will 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.

—J. Connell.  
Below is Comrade Hawkins' con-  
ment 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 soldier; 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 with  
meat? 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 vote for the greater  
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 pro-  
duce 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 mas-  
ter 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 union  
at the ballot box, we would not have to toil 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 pro-  
duce wealth, for machinery is wealth; and it takes brains, coupled with  
labor, to produce machinery, and I find to my regret that the master class  
making any invention. Now I contend that the worker's 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  
that we can outdo. We all inherit cunning from our animal progenitors, and we can cul-  
tivate 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 work-  
ing 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 dis-  
cretion, 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 im-  
posed 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  
captivated mind 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 suc-  
cess. 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 get to the New Jerusalem.  
"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 world that  
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 ma-  
chinery 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  
out of 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 morning, while we are edu-  
cating and organizing ourselves, and the trusts are developing, and the machin-  
ery 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 Re-  
public at Washington and establish-  
ment 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 pa-  
pers! What next? Must we be ex-  
pect 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  
braving his rope, went into the  
clover lot to get a square meal? Look  
out for a change, comrades, the voting  
cattle are waking up.  
J. EDWARD MORGAN.

Hillard Local will hold a Basket So-  
cial at Macabee Temple, Friday even-  
ing, April 10.

Herman and Comrade Klahr  
will speak at Macabee Hall, Sunday,  
April 5, 4 p. m.

## FATHER McGRADY IS IN GOOD STANDING.

Dayton, Ohio, March 10, 1902.  
Dear Comrade: In your last issue  
of "The Socialist," I notice a small  
piece in a rather obscure place which  
is so mischievous 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  
the church. He is a priest in good  
standing and is not ill." Now this would natu-  
rally 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 not been expelled from  
the church, as some minister who had  
resigned his charge. He is a member  
of the church, as ever before, and is now un-  
der no ecclesiastical censure what-  
soever. It is necessary that this be un-  
derstood correctly, as Father Mc-  
Grady is constantly lecturing and the  
contraction of names "Hagerty" and  
"McGrady" 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  
congratulations should be addressed to me.

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

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Socialists have to eat and wear clothes  
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Oxford Grey Mixed Cheviot Skirts, full flare, a splendid street skirt, regular price \$2.50, each. **\$1.98**

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Gowns, Skirts, Drawers, Skirt Chemise, regular \$1.39 quality, each. **\$1.00**

#### RIBBONS

Solid color, Marie Silk Ribbon, 4 inches wide, regular 25c quality, while they last, the yard. **10c**

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Joins this sale with its share of good values, women's Flat Black Cotton Hose, double heel and toe, spliced foot, regular the grade, the pair. **9c**

#### TEA

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 the Tea equal to any you have paid 50c for, introduction price, the pound. **35c**

Pure Mocha and Java Blend Coffee, that you pay 35c for, the pound. **25c**

3 pounds White Castle Soap, the bar. **25c**

White Borax Napha Soap, the bar. **4c**

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### A TEN YEAR OLD'S SPEECH

Speech Spoken by Nina Parks at the Socialist Meeting March 22, 1903, in Greeple 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 carried 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 shirk. Is the vilest nonsense survey, 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 relieve 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 that one that will not wait. While Socialist policies are treated now with mirth. The real working man believes his heaven should be at 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.

In the election of a capitalist demagogue to the national Congress, as the mayor of San Francisco did. And you endorsed the candidacy of this capitalist, notwithstanding the fact that his hypocrisy was as evident to the thinking man as is that 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 planetary criticism. I doubt very much if the California Socialists who made this trade are proud of it. And if they are, it should be worthy to inquire very closely into their theories of Socialism, for it ought to be plain that who 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 or the other of the operative 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 Chicago still regards itself as the center of the Socialist movement in America and is disposed to treat the National Headquarters at Omaha as a side-show. We have not room this week to print letters sent out by Associate Editors Osterhaus and Hilder criticizing the Editor of the National Office.

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

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### Challenge from Untermann Accepted

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 labor in it.

In the first place, I did not "reason to me" 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 proletariat should be the leader of the movement. What I have referred to, and what most of my readers, even those that make no pretense to your scientific precision and standing, have understood at the first glance, if I can judge from the many letters I have received to this effect, is that we should cease, allying to the proletariat as a distinct faction in the Socialist movement, which might endanger the safety of our party. And with a little editorial which you criticize. Kaustky'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 Tiv, 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 "speak 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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