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# The Worker.

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VOL. XVI.—NO. 31

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 3, 1906.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## NEW YORK WILL SEND SOCIALIST TO CONGRESS.

Morris Hillquit, in the Ninth District, Will Be Elected Next Tuesday—His Vote May Exceed That of Both Opponents.

The last week of the Socialist campaign in the Ninth Congressional District has been distinguished by some features which have made it notable in the history of Socialist campaigns on the East Side. The parade held on Saturday last is admitted to have been the greatest ever held in the district, there being from 15,000 to 20,000 people in line. The whole East Side turned out to give the marchers greeting and they received an enthusiastic reception. The entire affair passed off without a hitch of any kind and the daily press were compelled to call attention to it in a prominent manner.

### Great Meetings Held.

On Monday night, the Professional League held a great meeting at the Grand Theatre at which John Spargo presided and Alexander Jonas, candidate for Congress in the Tenth District, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Max S. Hayes, Abraham Cahan and Morris Hillquit were the speakers. The number of apparently non-Socialists present was remarked. Indeed this has been the case with nearly all the hall meetings of the campaign.

Successful meetings were held on Tuesday night at Clinton Hall and Grand Irving Palace, with Max Hayes, Hugh O. Pentecost, Morris Brown, Meyer London, M. Winchewsky, M. Zemetkin, J. G. Dobevege and Morris Hillquit as speakers. Hall meetings are arranged for every night until election, excepting Saturday and Sunday.

The campaign will close on Monday night next with a big meeting, at which John C. Chase, Socialist Party candidate for Governor, and J. G. Phelps Stokes and Rose Pastor Stokes will be the principal speakers.

### Distribution of Literature.

Perhaps nothing in the campaign has been so well done and so effective as the distribution of 80,000 copies of special issues of The Worker and "Vorwärts" last Sunday morning. This was accomplished within five hours, each distributor being supplied with the names of a certain number of voters on a block to whom the papers were delivered in person. In this way every voter in the district was reached directly with good Socialist literature, and the effect was immediately noticeable. The Ninth District deserves credit for this achievement. A similar distribution will take place next Sunday morning.

### Only Fraud Can Beat Hillquit.

It is now admitted that the only possible thing that can prevent Hillquit's election is the use of bribery and corruption at the polls, the methods which Tammany has used so often. To try and prevent this the Socialist Campaign Committee has prepared a list of floaters and repeaters which the house-to-house canvass and the card system have disclosed, and this list will be filed with the Superintendent of Elections before election day. The list includes the names of men who have been dead over a year and others who have moved out of the district. The Socialist watchers and challengers will be furnished a complete list of these floaters and everything will be done to prevent fraud.

The concert given by the Socialist Women's Campaign League last Sunday night was a great success in every way, and the hard work of the women comrades realized about \$100 for the district campaign fund.

Despite unwarranted and, in some cases, malicious interference by the police with the open-air meetings, these have been large and successful. The Socialist campaign has been an aggressive and educational one, and it is hoped a decisive victory for the party will be the result.

### Canvass Shows Hillquit Ahead of Both Opponents.

The house-to-house canvass up to Oct. 27 showed the following: Total number canvassed, 7,545; for Goldfogle (Dem.), 1,315; for Adler (Rep.), 945; for Hillquit, 2,345; independent and non-committal, 2,870. Of those declaring for Hillquit, nearly all are believed to be straight Socialist votes. The total registration in the district this year is computed at 14,800. If this canvass can be relied upon, and there is no reason to doubt it, Hillquit should be elected with a free ballot and a fair count.

William Mallory, who has had principal charge of the campaign in the Ninth, together with the other comrades who have worked so long and arduously, have every reason to think that next Tuesday will see a Socialist elected to Congress from New York.

If you vote for Socialism, be sure you act as a Watcher. Apply to William Mallory, 237 East Broadway.

## HEARST UNIONISM.

The Trade Unionists He "Tickles Under the Chin" and Loves Them for Their Votes' Sake.

### HEARST IS FOR WAGE SLAVERY

I tickled him under the chin; I tickled again and again; He couldn't say "No!" He liked it, you know, When I tickled him under the chin.

So of old sang the soubrette in the beer hall. And the fellow who was "tickled under the chin" had his "leg pulled".

How like Hearst and the labor movement. Where labor is powerful and "has the goods"—votes—how ready Mr. Hearst is to "tickles them under the chin". Admit the serious purpose and general honesty of the Hearst shouters in the labor camp. Then consider seriously how he has treated labor—not some few trade unionists, but the entire working class.

How does Mr. Hearst stand on the outrages committed against the black workingmen of the South? Do you know? If he thinks the black man should have a vote, why don't he say so? The reason is obvious. He does not dare say a word for the black workman of the South. If he did so, he would lose the support of the white Democrats of the South in the Democratic national convention. You workingmen of the North want to understand that your cause will never be won by a man who remains silent because to speak for the wronged and oppressed might cost him votes. You white workingmen of the North also want to understand that the same laws that disfranchise the black workingmen of the South disfranchise many of the white workingmen also. How does Hearst stand on that question? He dare not say.

Mr. Hearst treats his printers as well as—no better than—printers are treated in other union newspaper offices. THEY are organized. He constantly talks of paying them above the union scale. He pays SOME of them above the scale—not all. Most if not all other newspapers in New York run under union conditions pay SOME of their printers above the union scale. Mr. Hearst could not possibly make a commercial success of his papers if he did not keep on good terms with the trade unions.

How does Mr. Hearst treat his newsboys? They are NOT organized. How does he treat his reporters? They are NOT organized. He treats his newsboys and reporters no better than other newspapers treat them. It is even doubtful if he treats these unorganized employers of his as well as they are treated by some other newspaper proprietors.

When Judge Bookstaver issued his infamous injunction against "Big Six" Mr. Hearst's papers had little to say. But later, when the then scab New York "Sun" was attacking Mr. Hearst, and telling the people that Hearst killed McKinley—then, to serve himself and injure the "Sun," he took up the fight of the printers against the "Sun."

Mr. Hearst constantly attacks Mr. Hughes because of his friends. So far as "labor is concerned," Mr. Hughes and his party are as bad as they make them. But how about Mr. Hearst's friends—"Stripes" Murphy, "Gas" Grady, "Bought" Cockran? Those are the names with which they were christened by Mr. Hearst himself—they are names they richly deserve. Their names do them no injustice. And they are all for Hearst. McClellan and Parker may be for him before election day.

Mr. Hearst is "not opposed to capitalism, large or small." So he says. That means, Mr. Workingman, that Mr. Hearst, while he tickles you "under the chin," wants another man to own your means of livelihood. It means that while he tells you he is a friend of labor, he believes in slavery. Workingmen will never be free men until they own the things necessary to supply them with the means to sustain life.

John C. Chase, candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor of New York, proposes that the men who do the world's work shall own the things with which their work is done. Then labor will be free. Never before. Until that time laborers will be wage slaves. Mr. Hearst stands for wage slavery. He is not a true friend of labor so long as he stands for slavery. When he pretends to be in favor of the working class he is simply "tickling them under the chin" in order to get from them the most precious thing they have in this world—their vote.

Workingmen of New York, if you would cease to be wage slaves, if you would become free men, vote neither for Hearst nor Hughes. YOUR candidate is John C. Chase.

Hearst is for Wage Slavery. Wage Slavery is to-day the sum of all evil.

Friends of labor are numerous just at present, but if you want to renew their acquaintance after election, go on strike and you will not fail to recognize them.

## WORKINGMEN OF NEW YORK.

This is Your Ticket—It Will Be Found in the Third Column of the Official Ballot—Vote It Straight.



SOCIALIST PARTY.

For Governor,  
JOHN C. CHASE.

For Lieut.-Governor,  
GUSTAV A. STREBEL.

For Secretary of State,  
WILLIAM W. ARLAND.

For State Treasurer,  
WILLIAM W. PASSAGE.

For Attorney-General,  
HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

For State Comptroller,  
JOHN O'ROURKE.

For State Engineer  
and Surveyor,  
RUSSELL R. HUNT.

The above is the state ticket. In their proper places in the various districts will be found the Congressional, Legislative, Judicial and other nominees of the Socialist Party.

Vote under the Arm of Labor upholding the Torch of Enlightenment, in the THIRD COLUMN on the official ballot. The Socialist Party has no instructions to give for split votes, for Socialists do not ask for split votes or personal votes or any votes but straight votes for full and uncompromising Socialist principles.

Vote as early as possible. If you do not, you may find that some of the old party floaters and repeaters have cast a ballot under your name earlier in the day. WATCH THE VOTE.

If you have trouble at the polls or any attempt is made to intimidate you or deprive you of your rights, telephone to the Organizer, Socialist Party, 66 E. Fourth street, telephone number 3706-Fourth.

Every comrade who can possibly do so should act as a watcher, and see that the vote is counted.

### SOCIALIST EMBLEM IN NEW JERSEY.

In the state of New Jersey the official Emblem of the Socialist Party is the



### GLOBE AND CLASPED HANDS.

As shown in the accompanying cut. This is especially important in the districts where voting machines are used. The lever corresponding to this emblem means a straight vote for Socialism.

Where voting machines are not used the ballots in New Jersey do not bear a party emblem. Such paper ballots are not to be marked by the voter with an X mark, as in some other states. Socialists should be careful to make inquiry from comrades as to how to prepare their ballots, so that they may not be invalidated.

### SLAVES.

They are slaves who fear to speak. For the fallen and the weak. They are slaves who will not choose hatred, scolding, and abuse. Rather than in silence shrink. From the truth they needs must think. They are slaves who dare not be in the right with two or three.

## TO YOU, WORKINGMEN OF THE NINTH.

A Straight Socialist Ticket, and Morris Hillquit to Congress to Represent the Working Class of the World.

In the United States two years ago more than 400,000 men voted for the candidates of the Socialist Party. Probably there was a number equally large who believed in the principles of the party, but were by various legal enactments deprived of their votes. Counting women, it was within the mark to say that two years ago there were not less than one million Socialists in this country. Yet owing to laws which provide for a misrepresentative government in America, these million Socialists did not elect a single Congressman. This year it is probable that several Socialists will be elected to the national legislature, the not so many as our vote would entitle us to under a fair system of representation.

YOU, workingmen of New York's Ninth Congressional District, have today a great duty and a grand opportunity. YOU can elect a Socialist to Congress. YOU can elect a man who will represent you. More than that, YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, can elect a man to Congress who will represent the tens of thousands of Socialists in New York who do not reside and have no vote in the Ninth. YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, can send a man to Congress who will represent the hundreds of thousands of Socialists in the United States. YOU can elect a man to the House of Representatives who will represent the millions of Socialists in Europe and the world.

YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, can elect a man to Congress who will represent YOU, who will represent ME, who will represent ALL WORKINGMEN this whole world over—a man who will represent the WORKING CLASS.

Remember, workingmen of the Ninth, any man who does not represent the WORKING CLASS does not represent YOU.

In the Congress of the United States Morris Hillquit will represent the interests, the hopes and the aspirations of the workingmen and women and children of England, France and Germany just as truly as he would were he a member of the British Parliament, the French Chamber of Deputies, or the German Reichstag.

In the Congress of the United States Morris Hillquit will represent the starving and striving, the suffering and fighting, living and dying working people of Russia just as truly as he were in Russia making bombs and earning his glorious way to Siberia or to a hero's holy grave or to a sublime victory for human freedom along with your heroic brothers and sisters.

In the Congress of the United States Morris Hillquit will represent and will

speak for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in Idaho's jail, he will speak for two million American children in American industrial prisons, he will speak for millions of American black men in political shackles that deprive them of manhood's franchise, he will speak for millions of American women in industrial treadmills, and he will speak for millions and yet millions more of American men who have been sentenced to hard labor for life in the industrial penitentiaries of America.

YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, must elect this man to Congress on account of your duty to your fellow workingmen the wide world over. Morris Hillquit will represent YOU because he will truly represent the WORKING CLASS. No man can represent the interests of TWO classes. No man can represent the interests of a PART of the working class. He must represent ALL of that class or none.

Goldfogle says the people of the East Side are "prosperous". If Goldfogle was in Russia he would tell the Tsar that the people of Russia were "prosperous"—if thereby Goldfogle could become "prosperous".

Adler says "Roosevelt is good enough for him". If Adler was in Russia he would say that the "Tsar was good enough for him".

A vote for Adler or Goldfogle is a vote for the Tsar of Russia. It is worse. It is a vote for a Russified America.

YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, will NOT vote for Tsar Nicholas, nor Tsar Roosevelt, nor Tsar Murphy. If you do, you vote to desecrate the graves of Bloody Sunday's dead. If you vote for an American Tsar, you vote to dishonor the slain of Kishineff—you vote for more Kishineffs in Russia, and you vote for Kishineffs yet to come to America. YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, will NOT vote for Grand Duke Morgan and Grand Duke Carnegie and Grand Duke Gould in America. If you do, you say that the men and women of heroic valor and sublime devotion who have laid their lives on the altar of Russia's liberty—you say that they have died in vain, and that more shall follow them.

YOU, workingmen of the Ninth, will vote the straight Socialist ticket. YOU can be relied on. YOU will vote for John C. Chase and all the candidates of the Socialist Party. YOU will vote for Morris Hillquit for Congress. YOU will elect Morris Hillquit, and YOU will give to the wage slaves of the world a voice that shall be America.

Workingmen of the Ninth, YOU can be relied on.

BEN HANFORD.

## PHILADELPHIA SOCIALISTS.

Candidates Reply to Questions of Trade Union Political League—Propose to Get Much More Than the League Dare Ask For.

The following letter was sent in reply to a letter from the Trade Union Political Conference of Philadelphia:

Mr. John M. Love, Sec'y Trades Union Political Conference, Phila.  
Dear Sir:—We, the undersigned Socialist Party candidates for Congressional, Legislative, Senatorial, Judicial and County offices, are individually in receipt of your circular letter to all candidates, with interrogations, and herewith send our joint reply.

As candidates of the Socialist Party, we act only as servants of the working class thru that organization and our "personal opinions" are but an expression of the aims and objects of the mass of workingmen and women united in that party to emancipate their class from wage-slavery.

For this reason we send you our joint reply, endorsed by the Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party is the party of the working class, the party of the wage-slavery, the party of the land, mines, mills and other instruments of wealth production, which the working class must have access to in order to live. By virtue of their ownership of the capitalist class take from the workers the greater part of the wealth created by them in the shape of rent, interest and profit. By virtue of their ownership of the capitalist class are the virtual masters of the working class, having the power of life and death over the lives of the workers. The workers is that of wage-slavery.

We therefore declare the abolition of wage-slavery to be the real issue confronting the working class at this and every election. The Socialist Party is pledged to the conversion of private property to the collective ownership of the working class. The Socialist Party is educating and organizing the working class to demand the collective ownership of the means of the means of wealth production. Socialism means working class freedom.

So that while we are in favor of immediate demands as palliatives, we will not allow ourselves to be swayed from the straight course of the complete overthrow of the present system of master and slave.

With this understanding, we, the undersigned, candidates of the Socialist Party, submit the following in answer to your interrogations:

1. We are in favor of the initiative and referendum and the right of recall.

2. We favor the eight-hour day as a temporary measure, but we are in favor of further reductions to the minimum time necessary to do the world's work under most scientific organization.

3. We are in favor of repealing the state constabulary, trespass and eviction acts. In this connection we enclose you copy of resolution adopted at the convention of the Socialist Party held in Allegheny, May 22, 1906.

4. We believe in effective employers' liability acts.

5. We will support sanitary inspection of workshops and mines.

6. We will support the abolition of the sweatshop system and child labor.

Judges—Edwin H. Davies, Common Pleas Court No. 1; Simon Labov, Common Pleas Court No. 3; Wesley R. Cassile, Common Pleas Court No. 2.

District Attorneys—Joe E. Cohen, City Treasurer—Gustav Konstanzer, Register of Wills—Julius Weber.

Judge Orphans' Court—Geo. Chestnam, Congressmen—1st District, Edward J. Higgins; 2d District, Edwin J. Lewis; 3d District, Chas. Sehl; 4th District, Herman L. Knappe; 5th District, Robert E. Nicholson; 6th District, Hyland W. Porter.

State Senator—2d District, Israel Levitsky; 4th District, Joseph Kane; Jr.; 6th District, James McDermott; 8th District, Martin McCue.

Representative—Nicholas Service, Bennett Hovovsky, G. Bowersox, John J. Linnick, Francis J. Mullen, John Morrow, Jas. Hutton, Chas. P. Hall, Wm. H. Bateman, Simon Knebel, Wm. H. Claidler, Chas. Hoover, Y. Yankovsky, W. H. Banforth, E. C. Marcelline, W. H. Rider, G. F. Bernold, W. H. Snyder, A. W. Stokes, Frank Pfeil.

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST RALLY.

An Open-Air Meeting to Be Continued from Noon Till Midnight.

## GREAT SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN STATE OF NEW YORK.

John C. Chase, Candidate for Governor, with J. G. Phelps Stokes and Rose Pastor Stokes, Address Record-Breaking Meetings Up-State.

Comrades John C. Chase, our candidate for Governor, and Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Phelps Stokes began the week with two meetings in Rochester, one in Germania Hall, with our candidate for comptroller, John O'Rourke, as chairman and the other at Colonial Hall. Both meetings were quite a revelation to our Rochester comrades, who were more than pleased with the great attendance and the magnificent enthusiasm shown by the audience.

### Great Success at Buffalo.

On Sunday, Oct. 21, they spoke at Garden Theater. People came from Lockport, Niagara Falls, Buffalo and other cities and crowded the theater. The audience was an intelligent one, sprinkled with men of various calling and some women, who came to listen to Mrs. Stokes. Considerable literature was sold. An admission fee was charged and a collection of \$32 taken up. Comrade Findlater of Buffalo presided. The local newspapers gave big reports of the meeting.

On Oct. 24 at Jamestown they spoke in the City Hall, which was filled to its capacity. Waldemar Marker presided. The local papers expressed great surprise at the reception given to the Socialist candidate for Governor, John C. Chase, and in Jamestown, as elsewhere, the old party politicians are greatly worried over the size of the Socialist vote.

### In Higgins' Town.

The meeting in Olean, Oct. 24, was equally well attended and a collection taken up which nearly covered all the expenses. Our organization is weak there, and this meeting will bring in new members. Olean is Governor Higgins' town and many of our comrades were anticipating a small attendance. The results showed that with little effort it is always easy to draw a good crowd to our meetings.

On Oct. 25 they spoke at a record breaker in Corning. Comrade Arland, our candidate for Secretary of State, presided and the meeting is still discussed in the various papers of Corning. The local has fine headquarters, open every evening, and after the meeting the comrades held an informal reception, highly enjoyed by all.

### Workingmen and Farmers.

The meeting in Hornellsville on Oct. 26, took place in the City Hall and here again our comrades found the large hall filled to the doors. The

audience was made up of workingmen from the factories of Hornellsville and vicinity, together with a large representation of farmers. The enthusiasm was greater than at any of the other political meetings held in that town. A great amount of literature has been distributed in Steuben County.

### College Professors and President.

The Ithaca meeting on Oct. 27 took place in the Library Hall, and was presided over by Prof. V. Karapetoff of Cornell University. There were several other professors present, including President J. Schurman of Cornell. The audience was made up mainly of workingmen and students and the speakers were heartily cheered. A second meeting took place on Sunday at one of the Unitarian churches, which was crowded to the doors. Both Comrades Chase and Stokes spoke. The local in Ithaca is in thriving condition, new recruits being made weekly from the Cornell students.

At the meeting in Port Jervis on Oct. 29 the hall was crowded and many turned away.

On Oct. 3 they will speak in Middletown and Oct. 31 in Port Chester, where the local comrades expect two rousing meetings. The remaining days of the campaign will be devoted to New York City.

### New Energy in Locals.

Much good has been done the organizations up-state. They were unaccustomed to such enthusiastic gatherings, and these successful meetings have put new energy in many of the weak locals. Literature was generously distributed, and the State Committee is confident that our vote will be a great surprise to those who have looked upon the Socialist Party vote as of small importance.

Comrade Fieldman concluded his tour with two large meetings, one in Corning, which was attended by about 500 persons, and the other in Peekskill. The meeting in Peekskill was the best ever held there. A local capitalist interrupted the speaker by asking questions and he is now a wiser man.

Comrade John W. Brown addressed meetings in Little Falls, Herkimer, Ithaca, Frankfort, Utica, Rome and Syracuse. He reports unusual interest and large meetings. Several new members were secured and considerable literature distributed.

Comrade Wilkins held several meetings in Gouverneur, Watertown, Canthage, Lowville and Boonville. Comrade Wilkins' meetings were mostly out-doors, but in spite of the bad weather they were successful. He will speak the remaining few days of the campaign in Rochester.

## HUGHES PROMISES

But He Has Nothing to Say of the Acts of His Party in Colorado and Idaho.

### MAKE HIM "TALK COLORADO."

Mr. Hughes, Republican candidate for Governor, states that "anything of real benefit to labor" will have his support. It is a "promise", and workingmen have been accumulating large stocks of them for years. Mr. Hughes adds another to the total on hand that remains unfulfilled.

The best test of his sincerity is not only the record of his party—a record of killing of labor bills and non-enforcement of the few enacted—but his faith in keeping another. When selected to probe the insurance swindles Mr. Hughes promised a thorough investigation.

"This investigation finally implicated Chairman Cortelyou and Treasurer Bliss of the Republican National Committee, Hughes' own party. It was whispered that these two gentlemen had received part of the loot. Mr. Hughes stopped investigating when he reached that interesting stage. The official smelter did not call his two worthy party colleagues to the witness stand. Recognizing this service, the party gave him the nomination for governor. Mr. Hughes' "promise" to labor is the same bear-eyed jade avowing affection for labor that it may be lured to the shambles.

Mr. Hughes also says that in public affairs he and his party favors "due process of law." In Colorado, too, Mr. Hughes' "do you favor 'due process of law' there? What have you to say about 'due process of law' in that state, a state controlled by your party? No doubt Peabody in the past and Buehler now as candidates for the executive chair in Colorado, "promised"

"due process of law". We know how Peabody kept his "promise", and no doubt Buehler will keep his as you kept yours in the insurance investigation.

"Promises" have been offered in every election. Workingmen have never failed to get them. It is all they ever do get—before election. After election promises are allowed to rest—till needed in the next campaign.

Mr. Hughes, you are a fraud, and all your kind have been and will continue to be. Bull pens in Colorado, Cossacks in Pennsylvania, child labor in New England, the South and the country over, injunctions and lockouts everywhere.

None of these have you promised, all of them you give—with or without "due process of law".

We are tired of your promises, and have been outraged by your acts.

We have tried both and want neither.

If you give what you promise or promise what you give the workers are still slaves. If you vote for your class, and we vote for ours, shoemaker Chase will go to Albany and you to private life—where you belong.

"Never mind 'promises', Mr. Hughes, 'Talk Colorado', Mr. Hughes, if you stand for the infamous acts of your party in Colorado and Idaho you are a scoundrel, Mr. Hughes—even judged by the moral standards of your own class. 'Talk Colorado', Mr. Hughes, and no workingman who is not a traitor to his class will ever vote for you.

### Hughes is for Wage Slavery. Wage Slavery is to-day the sum of all evil.

NAPLES SOCIALISTS CHEER GORKY.  
Naples.—A pro-Russian meeting, over which Maxim Gorky presided, was held here by the Socialists today. Gorky wrote a short address, which was translated and read. A resolution was passed urging the Italian people not to participate in the new Russian loan. At the close of the meeting Gorky received an ovation.

The Worker.

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All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper; words should not be abbreviated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address and nothing should be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications which do not concern the paper should be returned to the sender. This is never sent to individuals unless the sender's name is given. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.

As the Worker goes to press on Wednesday, correspondents sending news should mail their communications in time to reach this office by Monday, whenever possible. Complaints about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 151 William street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y. Post Office on April 6, 1901.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party has passed through its third national election. Its growing power is indicated by the increase of its vote: 1900 (Representative) 95,961 1904 (House and Congressional) 225,762 1904 (President-elect) 405,230



Samuel Gompers is still using the "Federationist" to attack the Socialist Party. The current number contains falsehoods about the Socialists in the Maine election. We shall deal with the statements made in it next week. Meanwhile we ask our readers to note the letter of Comrade Fox on page 3 of this issue of The Worker.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Worker wishes to give very full and accurate news of the Socialist vote throughout the country in next week's issue. The paper will be held back one day, going to press Thursday night instead of Wednesday night. Comrades having news or notices of an ordinary nature to get in should not count on this extra day and delay their communications, but should send them in as early as if the paper were to come out at the usual time; for on the last day we expect to be busy with election matter. News of the vote should be got in as early as possible and by Thursday forenoon at latest. We are making arrangements with state secretaries and local organizers in many places for reports by mail or telegraph, and by their aid we hope to be able to lay before our readers a good account of the progress made by our party since the last national election. There is every reason to expect that the showing will be a satisfactory one, which will inspire the comrades to begin at once a vigorous and sustained effort for the campaign of 1908.

THE GOSPEL OF THRIFT PUT TO THE TEST.

Any man can get rich if he will only work hard and not waste his money, say the teachers and preachers and editors hired by the capitalists to keep the workmen contented. Poverty, they would have us believe, is due only to laziness and extravagance. Thrift is a virtue they never tire of praising, and the ideal they hold up for working people to admire and emulate is that of the rare and exceptional workman who, by hook or crook, gets out of his class and becomes a capitalist. "Go thou and do likewise"—"there is plenty of room at the top."

Yet here in a daily paper—and, of all papers in the world, in the New York "Times," the typical spokesman of the capitalist gospel of contentment and thrift for workmen—here we find a Toronto dispatch headed "Conductors Got Too Rich—Grand Trunk Grew Suspicious". The item informs us that the officers of the Grand Trunk Railway have discharged fifty-seven conductors on suspicion of accepting tips from passengers instead of demanding tickets. And the point of it, for us, comes in the statement that the management of the road had its suspicions roused by the fact that many conductors seemed to be getting rich, one having \$100,000. And another owning

six grocery stores. And the "Times" seems to think these facts sufficient ground for the suspicion.

The men, of course, deny the charges and allege that they accumulated these modest little fortunes by following the precepts of industry and frugality. We are inclined to believe that the management is right in its suspicions. Workingmen do graft sometimes, following on a small scale the example of their employers. And when we see a railway conductor "worth" \$100,000 we are inclined to ask "Where did you get it?"

But it is not for us to prejudge the case. We leave the capitalists to choose between the horns of their own dilemma. Either it is practicable for workmen to accumulate wealth by industry and frugality; and in that case these men whom the Grand Trunk have discharged are martyrs of the gospel of thrift. Or else the facts observed were sufficient reason for suspecting these conductors' honesty; and to claim that it is to admit that the gospel of thrift is a lie—that it is practically impossible for even a skilled and relatively well paid workman such as a train conductor to get together such a very moderate amount as \$100,000 by working hard and saving his wages. Choose the least uncomfortable horn, gentlemen. Are you capitalist liars or lying capitalists?

Hearst spoke ten minutes during his three years in Congress. At that rate workmen can figure how long it will take "Americanism" to emancipate them and still have time to get resigned to it.

As Miss Tarbell is to write a history of the tariff she undoubtedly will display wide knowledge of the cave dwellers centuries ago.

Capitalist supremacy depends for its existence on ignorance, but the Socialist Party is making that article so scarce that it threatens to destroy the supply.

In issuing his Thanksgiving proclamation the President must have been inspired by the shacks and hovels in the shadow of the capitol building.

A news item states that burglars slept, dined and bathed in a house after chloroforming their victims. That's nothing. The working class is robbed the year around and the politicians are now providing the dope.

Hughes believes in "honesty in public service," which probably accounts for his not calling Bliss and Cortelyou to the witness stand.

A PUBLIC SWEATSHOP.

That government ownership is not always socialistic, that public capitalism may be as bad as private capitalism from the wage-workers point of view, is a fact that we Socialists often proclaim and that has been illustrated anew by recent events in the postal service in New York City—events that show the post office in the light of a public owned sweatshop.

Last week forty clerks in one of the branch post offices walked out at two o'clock in the morning, having been on duty twelve hours, and leaving their work unfinished. It was not a strike, they said; they would come back to work at two o'clock in the afternoon; but they had agreed to stand together in refusing to work more than twelve hours a day. For a long time past, whenever the mails happened to be extra heavy—and the bulk of the mail is all the time growing faster than the force of clerks is increased—these men and hundreds of others thruout the city have been required to work till the mail was cleared or till they literally could not work any longer. They got no extra pay for this; nor were they permitted to balance this extra work by taking an hour or two off on slack days. The grievance is of long standing. Two years ago, on an occasion when a lot of clerks had been kept on duty sixteen hours, they resolved to make a test. They went in a body to the superintendent's house and asked that they might be permitted to report late the next day. Their request was refused and those who came late were fined. Another grievance is the system which, while thus stretching out the workday indefinitely, rigidly imposes fines for tardiness, even of half a minute.

Working for "Uncle Sam" twelve hours a day normally, thirteen or fourteen on occasion, and that in crowded and ill ventilated quarters! And when these men dare to organize and—not strike, but respectfully petition Congress for the redress of their grievances, President Roosevelt, ceasing for the moment to talk about the Square Deal, brandishes the Big Stick

and orders the summary dismissal of the "agitators." And Speaker Cannon sees that, if a bill is introduced for their relief, it is smothered in workers; it is run for profit. On the committee. And the Democratic minority silently consents.

The postal clerks have never tried to strike. As matters now stand, it would probably be futile for them to do so. But they are thinking hard—do a little thinking while he sorts letters—even if he has no leisure at other times—and every year more and more of them are quietly voting the Socialist ticket. So are the carriers, tho their conditions are by no means so bad as those of the clerks. These men know that the post office, as now administered, is not an example of Socialism, but of government capitalism; and they wish to change it.

The definition of Socialism includes two elements, both equally necessary. Socialism, as a system of society, means (1) the public ownership and operation of industry (2) for the benefit of the workers and not for profit. The post office, as now administered, fulfils the first of these conditions, but not the second. It is owned and operated by the government, indeed. But it is not run for the benefit of the face of it this last statement may seem untrue. So far from making a profit on the postal system, the objector will say, the government every year appropriates money from the treasury to cover a deficit. Quite true. But it has been repeatedly and conclusively shown that the railway corporations not only make a profit on their mail-carrying contracts, but that they make an enormous profit—a profit that is abnormal and exorbitant even under trusted capitalism. If they were—we do not say deprived of all profit—but allowed only a normal-profit on the contracts, the accounts of the postal system would show no deficit, they would show a surplus that would provide for enough additional employees to instal the eight-hour system in every branch of the service, and even to raise their wages besides.

The government is controlled by the capitalist class. It is administered by men who believe in and profit by the capitalist system. Even without personal corruption, these Democrats and Republicans are devoted to the promotion of capitalist interests first and foremost. Business prosperity is their highest ideal; and the criterion of business prosperity is the realization of large profits in private and corporate enterprises. And besides, a large enough share of them are corrupt and are "retained" as the special agents of certain great capitalist concerns against the small capitalists as well as against the workers. They hardly consider corruption a crime, rather an easy penance in the form of "charity" or "public spirit"—giving a share of their loot for libraries or hospitals or backing respectable societies for the reformation of poor people's morals. They hardly consider corruption as a crime for the simple reason that they regard capitalism as right, and capitalism is essentially corrupt; profit is something for nothing; from profit to "honest graft," and from that to outright bribery and speculation is an easy gradation.

Public ownership of the post office is capitalistic because the government is run by capitalist agents according to capitalist methods for capitalist profit. In proportion as the workmen, becoming class-conscious, take the government into their own hands, the post office and other government enterprises will become socialistic. The remedy for the evils of democracy, says Macaulay, is more democracy. Paraphrasing that, someone has rightly said—rightly, so far as he goes—that the remedy for the evils of public ownership is more public ownership. If the privately owned railways make profit out of the publicly owned post office, involving exploitation of the postal employees, let us have publicly owned railways. If, then, the privately owned rail mills and locomotive works make profit out of the publicly owned railways, let us have publicly owned rail mills and locomotive works. And all the time, in this extension of public ownership, let us have the workmen exerting an influence and an ever increasing influence, thru their unions and thru the ballot, to minimize the capitalistic character of the public services, to introduce the second element of Socialism along with the first, to reduce or eliminate profit in whatever form and to improve the conditions of labor for those doing the work.

To illustrate by the special case with which we began. If the work-

men elect some Socialists to Congress this year, those Socialists will introduce and fight for a bill to extend the eight-hour rule to the postal clerks, even if that should mean a bigger deficit to be paid out of the treasury. They would, with equal vigor, fight to cut down the extravagant amount paid to the railways for carrying the mails. They would vote for the nationalization of the railways—not to purchase them at the owners' valuation, but to "squeeze out the water" and pay for them at cost. And if the adoption of their measures would involve extraordinary expense to the government, they would vote for a graduated income tax to cover the bill. For they would all the time be guided by this simple rule: To improve the condition of the working class under capitalism and at the same time to hasten the coming of Socialism—that is, a system of public ownership and operation of industry for the benefit of the workers and not for profit.

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.

Our readers may take note of the fact that the Edwin H. Markham who wrote in the New York "Times" recently in support of Hearst is not the famous Edwin Markham, the author of "The Man with the Hoe," who spoke in favor of Morris Hillquit on the East Side. This fact was made clear in the "Times" on Monday—in the chagrin, we suppose, of the editor of the "People," who, jumping to the conclusion that it was the same Markham, hastened to make his blunder the occasion for another diatribe against the Socialist Party.

"SOCIALISM."

Horace Traubel's Appreciation of John Spargo and His New Book.

We take the following extracts from "The Conservator": You can't tell a good story too often. It needs to be told as often as it needs to be heard. It needs to be heard until it is lived. This is an old-time topic of Spargo. And in a sense Spargo is an old-time man. He is not old in years but he is a veteran in this business. He is the hero of a hundred peaces. Spargo can get along on his stage without a prompter. He has studied his part so well and for so long that it is not second but first nature for him to repeat its lines. This is a non-partisan book. It is written without the polemic temper. But it is not a non-party book. It has not compromised. It has unshrinkingly told its real name. But it has not got its coat of mail on. Spargo can go on the platform and raise the devil. And Spargo can also be as outwardly indifferent as a university professor who don't care a rap which way the economic wind blows. But Spargo is always a true sport. . . . The big gospel is getting said. Saying comes first. Next the big gospel will get lived. . . . Good for the cause. Spargo enjoys the scent of economic battle. He has a rare nose for powder. He smells it far off. I like him in his war paint and I like him in Quaker gray. He is home either way. Gradually here in America we are creating a virile group of radical economic works characteristically our own. We are getting so we have to borrow less from Germany and France. Not that I object to borrowing. All the world is my world. But we have some things to say on our own account and I want to hear them said. Immense new power is at last being released in our literature. Not thru the technicians and the disciplinarians who look back. Not by way of the new men with old habits. Not in the work of those who prefer form to power. No—these are all undertakers. Revelation selects other channels of speech. Often coarse men. Men unknown or little known. Men strange in what they do and how they talk. Men with brute sympathies. Men who are not ashamed to take themselves and take the wrong in the world seriously. Do not make any mistake about this. The old cocks have had their last morning crow. What did they do when Gorky came over? Flew the coop. Ran helter-skelter. Fell over each other trying to get away. Even Mark swallowed his tall talk and went into retirement. Wouldn't they be weak vessels to be trusted with anything worth while? They are for prettiness and flim-flam. They become the jolly dog part wonderfully well. When the Lord wants to crack a joke or do the parlor or compliment and flatter the learned and the moral elect the Lord knows who to choose to do it. But when there's real business on hand the real men are deputized to do it. The men with guts who cannot be bought and who are not afraid. The men to whom man is more precious than literature. That's where Heron, London, Lemon, Sinclair, Ghent, and their style come in. That's how Spargo comes in right here. The bell rings. The new actors come on. The orchestra is but just playing the overture. A little while and the curtain will go up on the new drama of creation. I know what the play will be. Do you? I know many of the players—who they are. The chosen of God. Do you? Perhaps I may be called on myself as a super. I hope to be called on. Do you think I have a right to hope? Anyway—I am here and can afford to be forgotten. For I do not forget myself.

More about Arthur Brisbane. The "Funny Little Monkey Editor" of Mr. Hearst's "News" Papers. Men who aim to become intellectual prostitutes generally fall for one principal reason—they lack intellect. This is not the case with Arthur Brisbane. He has a splendid intellectual equipment. It should rather be said he has had such an equipment—for it is no longer his. It belongs to Mr. Hearst, who, with cash, food for ambition, or what not, has bought all that there is of his editor which can be said to have transferrable value. To understand how thoroly Mr. Brisbane belongs to Mr. Hearst you should watch a man with a "Funny Little Monkey," well trained, and tied to a string. See the monkey run when the man pays out the rope, see him beg when his master makes signs to him, see him enter second-story windows and collect pennies—all anything, everything done for his master and owner. After watching a monkey and his master carefully, you can understand Arthur Brisbane.

One day Brisbane will tell you in his own paper that a Socialist is a man who wants to promote social betterment. This definition includes Czolgosz and Rockefeller. Later he will declare that European Socialists are all right, but that American Socialists are to be condemned, because they wear dirty collars. Then he will tell you that he does not know what Socialism is, and will ask his readers to inform him, and promise that their articles shall be published in the "Journal". None are published for a long time. Then one article is printed, written by Victor L. Berger. In the same issue of the paper Brisbane will tell you that Berger's article on Socialism is the first of half a dozen—but the others never see the light of day thru the columns of the "Journal". The owner evidently pulled the string, and the faithful simian obediently responded.

Year after year he has been telling the voters the day before election that all the "Trusts" were for the Republican party. After election he will write editorials, illustrated by cartoonists, showing that the "Trusts" named the candidates of both the old parties. All the years that Brisbane has been editor of the Hearst papers each election has seen the Socialists nominate a ticket in the state of New York. Never once has he or his master supported those tickets. But they supported Van Wyck for Mayor, they supported McClellan for Mayor (except when Hearst wanted the place for himself), they supported Shepard for Mayor, and they supported Parker for President—all of them owned by the "Trusts," according to Brisbane's own statements—AFTER election! Not only has the "Journal" never supported the Socialist ticket, but the "news" columns of that paper suppress all mention of them. When his master pulls his string Brisbane will lie by suppression of the truth or the expression of falsehood. Any way, every way to lie is equally easy for Brisbane.

Brisbane has intellect. He does not need to sell himself in order to live. He does not need to steal ideas. He does both. Rockefeller in the commercial world is not a greater robber than Brisbane in the field of radical literature. He will steal anything from anybody, and publish it as his (or his master's) own. He will justify this by saying that when he steals the ideas of another and publishes them in the "Journal" he gives them circulation. Just so, no doubt, Rockefeller justifies his industrial piracy—he uses his swag to do good, as he thinks. If Hearst should lose Arthur Brisbane he would be compelled to hire forty literary thieves and pickpockets to fill his place.

Brisbane has one sense. It is not a sense of honesty, nor is it horse sense, nor common sense. It is not even a newspaper sense. He has a sense for newspaper sensation. Anything that will sell a paper. It makes no difference what it is. Just as the monkey on the string will go into the second-story window to get pennies for his master, so Brisbane to get pennies for his master will invade the privacy of any place on earth, no matter how sacred, if thereby he can sell an additional copy of his master's paper for an additional penny. Possibly he may not exploit the women of his own and his master's family, but there are no other persons on earth that he would not damn with his yellow curse if thereby he could add to circulation. Brisbane's process of argument is simplicity itself—and duplicity. "Twice two are four—therefore twice four are nine, and Hearst is an honest man." "Twice one are two—therefore twice three are nineteen, and Hearst is another Lincoln." "Action and reaction are always and everywhere equal—so you see Ryan is for Hughes, and you should be for Hearst." Plain as a pie-staff. A fool can see that.

Brisbane is a man of physical courage. It is said of him that he once knocked down Charley Mitchell when that worthy bruiser was at the height of his fame and power. But for moral courage—he has dealt more foul blows thru his "journalism" than any other man who ever lived. Brisbane served seven years under Dan on the old "Sun". He served seven years more under Pulitzer on the "World". He was a master of every dirty trick of his trade when he took "service" under his present owner. What a shame that such an intellect as his can only live in servility. But a "Funny Little Monkey Editor" on a string must respond to his master's wiles.

MORE ABOUT ARTHUR BRISBANE.

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The psychology of Brisbane. That at some future time. It can be clearly seen in his writings.

LABOR LAWS UNENFORCED.

Commissioner and Magistrates Blame Each Other.

It is a notorious fact that the laws against child labor on the statute books of the state of New York are almost a dead letter. They are violated every day in every industrial city in the state. Commissioner McMackin was justly blamed for doing nothing to execute the laws and rescue the children of the working class from being ground between the upper and nether millstones—the conscienceless greed of the employers and the driving poverty of the parents. When P. Tecumseh Sherman replaced him as State Commissioner of Labor, great things were promised. Mr. Sherman was an able and sincere man, the public was assured, and would make it unpleasant and unprofitable for anyone to exploit children in violation of the law. Mr. Sherman has now been in office nearly two years, and things are in practically the same condition where they were under McMackin. If there has been any improvement it is microscopically small.

Banding the Blame.

As to who is to blame, there are conflicting statements. Commissioner Sherman says he is not, and the New York Child Labor Committee gives him credit for "conscientiously desiring to enforce these laws." Anyhow, he does not enforce them. He says the Magistrates are at fault, that they block all his efforts. The Magistrates reply with "You're another" and declare that they could not prevent him from enforcing the laws even if they would.

In his last quarterly bulletin the Commissioner says: "In New York City five important cases were lost in rapid succession. In one the defendant was prosecuted for employing a small Russian boy, who said, and whose passport showed, that he was 13 years old, and who actually appeared much younger. But the Magistrate ruled that these facts were not legal evidence of age, and, as no parent or relative could be found to testify on knowledge that the child was under 16, the defendant was discharged.

"In another case two children who were proved to be under 14 were found in a factory apparently at work, and stated to the inspector that they were employed there by the defendant; but the inspector had not observed and could not testify what particular work they were doing. The Magistrate ruled that they were too young to be sworn—which shut out their testimony as to employment—and that the inspector's case was insufficient to prove employment. He therefore dismissed the complaint. "The same Magistrate discharged several defendants because it was testified that the day on which the inspector found a child at work in their factory was the first day it had been employed. This is a common excuse which an inspector can seldom disprove, and which does not constitute a legal defense. The defendants in this case were old offenders.

"In another case the Magistrate discharged a defendant because the inspector failed to allege and prove that the defendant had been previously warned. As a matter of fact, the defendant had been caught violating the law and previously warned three times, but the inspector, of course, did not have the evidence available to prove it. "In yet another case the Magistrate discharged a defendant prosecuted for employing a child under 14 years of age in a large steam laundry, where dangerous machinery was used, on the ground, as he stated it, that the particular occupation upon which the child was employed (that of shaking out linen) was in the nature of domestic service."

Says Sherman Didn't Try.

Magistrate Whitman, for himself and his colleagues, replies in part as follows:

"If the Magistrates have been wrong in their judgment in dismissing the defendants in the cases cited, the Commissioner of Labor has been extremely negligent in his duty in not carrying the cases to the Court of Special Sessions for final decision. "A hearing before a Magistrate is neither conclusive nor final, and the complainant enjoys the right by law to appeal a case when he is not satisfied with the judgment of the Magistrate. If Mr. Sherman feels that the magistrates have been wrong in their decisions, it was his duty to make an appeal from that decision. In the bald declaration that an error has been committed, without an attempt to have it remedied having been made, he convicts himself of being recreant in the performance of the duties which his office calls for. "Violation of the Child Labor Law is a misdemeanor over which a Magistrate does not have final jurisdiction. If the complainant so desires the defendant can be taken directly before the Court of Special Sessions, in addition to appealing from the decision of the Magistrates. In view of this criticism it seems that it would have been better if the complainants had taken the alternative of going directly to the higher court."

Both Sides Score

and Children Lose. To one chiefly interested in having the law enforced and not, as are the Commissioner and the Magistrates, in shifting the blame, it would seem that

each side has scored against the other. The facts cited by the Commissioner show that the Magistrates tax their ingenuity to devise excuses for discharging employers accused of violating the law. The facts cited by the Magistrate show that the Commissioner has contented himself with a very feeble attempt and has allowed the Magistrates to check his activities when he might have taken much stronger measures.

Certain it is, on the one hand, that when a friendless woman is arrested for "disorderly conduct" or a poor man is accused of a petty theft, every Magistrate is ready to hold the prisoner on evidence much lighter than that presented against the employers in the case cited. The difference is that here profits are at stake on the side of the defense, while there "respectability" and property are interested in the prosecution. Gold weighs heavy in the scales of justice, no matter on which side it is put.

Equally certain is it that in any matter of any crime or misdemeanor which threatens property interests, the officers of the law are able to get the sort of evidence which Commissioner Sherman says he cannot get. If it is possible, as daily experience proves it is, to get direct ocular evidence against pickpockets, burglars and embezzlers, the lay mind can hardly see the impossibility of getting such evidence of the employment of children. The explanation is, perhaps, that it is not considered polite to employ "plain-clothes men" in the prosecution of law-breaking capitalists nor to send an inspector into a factory without giving due notice to the owner.

We shall have the labor laws enforced and better ones enacted and enforced when a sufficient proportion of the workingmen cut loose from the two capitalist parties and frighten the capitalists and their political and judicial lackeys by voting the ticket of their own class. And till then, competition will force a part of the workers to send their little children into the stores and factories and the presence of the children there will keep men unemployed and keep wages down. The remedy is in the workmen's hands.

DEATH OF F. A. SORGE.

F. A. Sorge died last week and his funeral services were held on Sunday afternoon at the residence of Dr. Romm on Fifteenth street, New York. Of late years he had not been active in the American movement, but regarding his earlier career we quote the following from Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States":

"A new impetus was given to the American movement at about the same time (1872) by the transfer of the seat of the General Council of the International from London to New York. The convention at The Hague elected to the Council twelve members, of whom four were Germans, three Frenchmen, two Irishmen, one an American, one a Swede and one an Italian. The Council was headed by F. A. Sorge as General Secretary. Sorge was well qualified for the duties of this responsible and delicate position. A veteran of the German revolution of 1848, and a personal friend and co-worker of Marx and Engels, he arrived in the United States in 1852, and by dint and tact, abilities and intimate knowledge of the labor question, he soon conquered for himself a position in the front ranks of the early Socialist movement in this country. He was the leading spirit in the International in the United States, ever active in organizing new sections and in the direction of their activity, and his name is prominently connected with every phase of the movement of that period. In the later developments of the movement Sorge was but little active."

Comrade Sorge left a large number of letters from Marx, Engels and other prominent Socialists of the time of his activity in the labor movement. These will undoubtedly prove to be of great interest and value.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

The following shows the circulation of The Worker for the last two weeks:

Table with 2 columns: Category and Circulation. Single subs. 10,027 10,898; Dealers 2,534 3,780; Bundles 2,878 53,453; Sold at office, samples, exchanges, etc. 6,561 25,078

Total printed and circulated 24,000 96,205

This week was a record breaker for The Worker. Our campaign number was hastily advertised, but we are highly pleased with the result.

Keep your eye on the single subscriptions and push them up. They are of the very greatest importance. "Prosperity" has pushed up the price of everything we buy, and we need more regular subscribers.

How about advertisements for The Worker? We can only take a few, but that makes those we do publish all the more valuable. Inquire at the office for advertising rates.

INFAMOUS GOODING.

Governor Gooding of Idaho is making a political campaign thru the state. We are informed that he is greeted with groans, hisses and cat calls. If the laboring people would look behind the scenes and behold the brutal system which make a Gooding execute the acts of infamy that halt not at murder, the Goodings would vanish from our civilization. But as long as the laboring class huris its vengeance against the individual scoundrel, who is but the product of the dehumanized system under which we live, we can expect no amelioration of conditions.—Miners' Magazine.

# PERSONAL JOURNALISM AND THE ELECTIONS.

By Peter E. Burrows.

Immortality in all the ages of the world that have known classes has its mental and material expression, thru either of which, according to taste and faculty, the student will study his public environment. While the economist wisely touches the sources of wrong and the man of a day resists it where it strikes him, there are others whose habit leads them to contemplate the immorality of the MIND of despotism and to study its speech.

The Caesars or the Kaisers, or the Tsars had kept journals of their privy councils what a light would have been shed upon humanity's great ulcer, the property class. But the monarch does not sit behind the throne during the Tsar's councils, and the nobles do not publish, and the proletariat over there only read up their governments on Bloody Sundays.

But that is Russia and this is America. In this country, nevertheless, some fine political equivalents of despotic methods are produced by appeals to the people's well arranged unfaith in their own democracy. The actual work of congress is accomplished behind the closed doors of committee rooms and the working classes are without representatives, lobbyists or parliamentary reporters, and the people consent, not wishing to embarrass the government. The open congress is but an arrangement of hot air valves from which escapes the rhetoric of those who desire to save the face of popular representation, and to give vent to those who are up for re-election. But the chronic alienation of our legislatures from the interest and cause of the people, their impossible attitude of mind, their insincerity, their prejudice against and ignorance of the common life constitutes the whole immorality of our law, which we ought to burn not understand.

Well, the American month may not be able to get behind the thesis to study the cold professional deceit of his masters, the lawmakers; but there are quadrennial and biennial exhibitions when the gentlemen go on a "roar" with very little clothes on, and that is the time to see the ulcerated state of the body politic.

Whether the press of America be the force that moulds our legislatures, or whether our legislatures mould the press does not affect the fact that the press of America and the legislatures are duplicate impressions of one thing, the capitalist class in politics. And the capitalist class of America stands for gilded individualism—life, liberty, and the pursuit of property for those who control the working class.

Whatever the press of America represents or aims at, we know that it does not instruct, or represent, or lead the people. There is hardly a greater farce in our public life than the pretensions, coupled with the impotency of the press. Pretending to be the instructor and leader of all in election times, it misinforms all and leads none. So that if one were to indulge in betting on the elections it would often be safe to back the rank outsider of the newspapers. The truth is they do not understand the public, they do not commonly even understand their own subscribers, and they are, as a professional class, remarkably stupid. It is one of the protective laws of human sanity that a criminal use of the mind surely weakens it; the murderer, the burglar, the habitual liar, all weaken in judgment and are at last self-betrayed, which is, in brief, the story of our newspaper editors from old Dana down to the dullard of the "Times."

It is a curious fact that the appeal of the editors, even in the hottest times of election, is to something outside their own clique and their own class. They know that the people have been instructed to honor truth and righteousness within the limits of the personal life. It is upon the infinite subdivisions of morality under individualism that moral scoundrels fatten.

"You people believe in righteousness," they cry. "See what a scoundrel my opponent is." If, as sometimes happens they are addressing those of their own families who are cynics, with a wink at the inside of public righteousness ever hovering on the eye, they will say: "Our candidate has no moral faults; he indulges in no cant, he eschews misty sentimentalism, he will know what to do with the labor unions when he gets a bang at them—he is a business man."

Or they will say: "Gentlemen, our candidate stands before you, a fine type of the best we have in American politics, a man that never forgets his friends."

There is not one, perhaps, among the very few who are now imprisoned in this country for debauching legislatures or poisoning the springs of popular government, but are regarded as fine fellows, heroes, or even martyrs, by the regular politicians. And this for the single reason that individualism grafted on private property can do no better than paralyze the public conscience.

"The workingman is a non-complex, a simple creature." I hear them saying, "who believes in righteousness and does his duty, because we have taken moral care of his childhood, so that he stays chained to his conscience while we outfit him."

This is the story of personal journalism at the elections. The science of class government may be fairly described as that of self-concealment, but it is a science with limitations, for the day inevitably comes when the

dence was drafted it did not contain that long-cherished phrase "the pursuit of happiness," but in its place was the phrase, "the pursuit of property." The old conspirators were then ashamed of that phrase; the young ones, as represented by our professor, are not.

Of what value is all this election character-denunciation of each other by the politicians as bribers, thieves and cadets? To the Socialist it is of no value at all. We simply sing "The half was never told," and "Still there's more to follow."

So long as the appeal is made to the moral indignation of the voters against persons, the more and viler the exposures the less effective they are, for the moral feeling, like the sense of touch, is first rubbed into irritation, but rubbing too hard and too long only produces numbness.

Looking over the whole New York field of newspaper capitalist electioneering we behold nothing but a mob of filthy yahoos squirting dirt upon each other, and we feel if the press ever had any dignity this is the time it lost it. The heavy old "Times," like a dull thug, just keeps on choking Hearst because the heavy old "Times," like the heavy rest of them, thinks that Hearst can, in some inscrutable way help the working classes. In their various degrees of dullness, acility or grimace the others are attempting the same patriotic office of throat cutting on the person of the candidate for Governor. And at the best they are only keeping the trail away a little longer from their own doors. This is the regular muck-raking in which "decent" American men every two or four years, take a part, not excluding the President, and the white-robed gentlemen who compose his cabinet.

Let not this horrible exhibition of individualism's bankruptcy discourage the people. There is a moral element in human nature, sometimes called spiritual, which can and will invest the human person with decency; and we shall find it when we cease to seek it in ourselves or for ourselves, when we divorce religion from property after their long centuries of adultery, when we restore morality to human life along, when we learn to look outside of us and to build our civilization on the interests of that class which alone represents all mankind, the class that labors for its bread and does not steal it.

## REPLY TO GOMPERS.

To the Editor of The Worker:—I would like to reply to the unjustifiable attack and false statements made by Samuel Gompers in the October "Federationist" against the Socialists of Maine. I have delayed replying in order to obtain the official report of the recent election.

The returns show that in spite of the unusually adverse conditions the total Socialist vote for Governor is 1,511 against 1,590 cast at the last election, a Presidential year.

Outside of the Second District I think that Gompers did the Socialists more good than harm. In some parts of the Second District Gompers hurt the vote, while in other parts the Socialist vote increased.

As far as Littlefield is concerned, Gompers appears to have had no perceptible effect either to hurt or help him. Littlefield's plurality was 1,069, being less than any other Congressman. But if we judge by actual loss of votes, Powers and Burleigh suffered worse than Littlefield. The latter lost 4,552, while the former lost 4,578 and 5,239, respectively. The general agitation throughout the state was fully as effective elsewhere as in the Second District.

Littlefield says "Gompers helped him." Mr. Littlefield is reported as saying "Gompers did him no good."

The Socialists invite Mr. Gompers to "come again to Maine."

In reply to the "Federationist" I will say that I was the editor of the "Maine edition of The Worker," and collected the money to pay for it. The total amount of this edition distributed in the Second District was 2,225 consisting of 24,000 as stated by Gompers "authentic" figures. The edition for the entire state amounted to only 10,576.

Every penny of the cost of this edition was contributed by members of the Socialist Party, and moreover the greater part came from "intelligent, honest, earnest trade unionists with clear, paid-up union (A. F. of L.) cards in their possession."

The vouchers and list are on file in Portland and are ready for inspection by Mr. Gompers at any time.

In regard to the other expenses of the campaign, not a penny came from Littlefield or his henchmen, nor from any trust, corporation or railroad. The money came from membership dues and small collections taken at meetings. We are now raising the unpaid balance among the membership.

The Socialist state secretary's published reports will show Mr. Gompers the source and method of spending every dollar. The Socialists are as much opposed as Gompers to the Hon. Charles C. Colman, Gompers, or Allen, or any other capitalist mis-representative. I will call to Mr. Gompers' memory the work done by Socialists in defeating the Allen bill against seamen in the Second District. The present campaign was on the same lines as all previous campaigns.

We ask Mr. Gompers to treat the question squarely. The Socialists of Maine do not yield a single inch to Samuel Gompers in their devotion to the cause of labor.

We did not attack Gompers' campaign against Littlefield. On the contrary, we are glad that Gompers came to Maine and joined with us in attacking Littlefield; but we did ask Gompers to line up to his professions and to stand by the trade union candidate for Congress. Gompers was surrounded by A. F. of L. candidates for different offices, including that of Governor, and yet Gompers never opened his lips. Why?

In this campaign the Socialists have been more consistent in the use of the label than President Gompers.

Every campaign document issued by the Socialist Party of Maine bears the union label. Why didn't Gompers put the label on the large red and black flyer distributed in Knox County? It is said that other flyers were distributed without the label.

There are union label shops in Portland, Bangor, Waterville and Millisnoeket. He consistent, Mr. Gompers!  
Portland, Me. CHARLES L. FOX.

# AN ADDRESS TO WORKINGMEN.

By James Oneal.

Again workingmen are called upon in an election to vote for certain policies represented by various political parties. Tho few of them realize it, the civilization of the Twentieth Century is on trial. All that it consists of, both good and bad, goes to the workingmen for approval or rejection. If you have a grievance or wrong to redress, or better things to secure and are denied them, you have the power to effect a change. If your wages are small and hours long; if the conditions of your work are unbearable or, at least, distasteful; if you or your fellows have been the victims of legislative or judicial power; if your struggle to procure a living for yourself and those dependent on you is uncertain, you have the power to change conditions for the better. Your vast numbers give you the power to effect the change. No power can stop you except ignorance of the source of your wrongs. And your ignorance may become power in the hands of others who know how to use it to their own advantage.

This great power to effect a complete change in the administration of public affairs also confers the greatest responsibility man can have. It can undo the wrongs of ages or continue a thousand curses. It can free a million slaves or add to their chains. It can establish an empire or found a brotherhood. It can liberate two million child slaves and send them from the sweat shop to the school. It can retire the judge who uses your ballot on which to write an injunction; it can give grafters a chance to become honest men. In short, the ballot can send your class into all the law-making bodies and give you power to administer affairs as you would like to have them.

That is your power. Would that you understood its significance as all your enemies do. They understand, yes, and fear that power. That is why they prepare months and years in advance for the time when you are the master and will pass judgment on their acts. So thoroly do they appreciate your power and so anxious are they to have it that they raise funds amounting into the millions to secure it. Votes mean power, and they want power. They must go to you to get it. You are many and they are few. If they vote for themselves and you vote for your own, your class will have the power to make and enforce the laws. This is what you ought to do, but you don't. You give your votes to others who use them for their purposes, not yours.

What should serve you as a guide as to how to vote? Manifestly, the way you get your living and the use made of your voting power by those to whom you gave it.

## Buyers and Sellers.

Aside from stealing and begging, all men under capitalism are buyers and sellers of something. The artist sells his pictures, the poet his songs, the teacher his service and you your labor power, while the capitalist buys all of these—especially your labor power. The artist can sell his pictures or the poet his songs, but in doing so the artist and poet do not go with the sale. But you do, and it is a significant fact for you to remember. When you sell your labor power you go with the sale and pass into the possession of those who have bought you for the time specified in the purchase. Your labor power is your life energy and its purchase by another gives him dominion over you. You cannot help it. It is degrading enough to sell your service, but when the sale carries the seller with it, it is barter of self in order to live. In addition to that you must sell at a loss if fortunate enough to find a buyer.

A steam boiler gets enough fuel to enable it to reproduce from day to day the energy necessary to keep the machinery in motion. When the fuel is withheld the machinery comes to a standstill. Therefore for the machinery to run the boiler must have fuel and the machinery must be kept in order.

Has it ever occurred to you that the "life" of that boiler and machine is "hired" to yours? That under capitalism you workingmen have been reduced to things?

The boiler and the machine gets fuel and oil enough to perform its service to the owner. You get enough food, clothing and fuel to enable you to store power in your body to handle the machines owned by others. When that power is exhausted you retire long enough to restore it over night that you may bring another supply to the capitalist next morning. He buys it at a cost representing the price necessary to reproduce it. Your cost to him is the same as the cost of the machine, that is, the expense of producing mechanical and human energy. In fact you cost him less. He invests a large sum of money in the machine before incurring the cost of its power. He invests nothing in you. He finds a labor market well-stocked, in fact, over-stocked, and merely contracts with you to provide you with necessities enough to generate enough power from day to day to produce wealth for him. The boiler gets fuel to produce power. You get necessities to produce power and both the machine and you are harnessed to the task of producing wealth which you do not own.

The steel workers do not own the steel; the carpenters do not own the houses; the printers do not own the publications. You own nothing that you produce. The class that owns the machines and factories and buys your labor power owns the steel, the houses,

the publications and all the wealth the workers produce. You only get enough of the necessities to enable you to generate power and keep producing steel, houses, publications and other things.

In fact, your class produces wealth it does not own; the capitalist class owns wealth it does not produce. Is this fair? Should it continue and, if so, why?

Again, if the system guaranteed employment to all at decent wages all the time, it would not be so bad. But it does not. It cannot. That boiler and machine is being constantly improved and each improvement displaces and sends workingmen adrift. They become the unemployed who glut the "labor market." This displacement of human power by mechanical power has also been accompanied by a multifold increase in wealth during the past century. Your class produce it; the capitalist class take it.

This displacement gives the capitalist class a tremendous advantage over you. In substituting the machine for you they have recruited an over-stocked "labor market." Result, they do not have to buy all the labor power offered for sale. They let you fight it out as to who will get the jobs. The remainder of those not effecting their sale remain in the "market" as a threat. If you are not satisfied with a "living wage" (your necessities), they are. An unemployed man with loved ones in want of those necessities is spurred on to accept a "living wage"—and often still less.

## Workers Must Own Machines.

So that those who own the machines and buy your labor power give you wages and take the wealth you produce. You produce greater value than the cost of your necessities. That is the only reason they purchase your labor power. If you did not produce more values than your labor power cost them they would never buy it in the first place. They buy because by experience they know you produce more values than your labor power costs them. They know that their ownership of the opportunities of employment give them power to take all the wealth you produce over and above enough to enable you to keep in working order. This ownership by a class of your opportunities to get a living is the source of every grievance and wrong of the working class. It is the essence of "capitalism, large or small." It handicaps you in your struggle for life and condemns you and your class to a life of toil and drudgery in the service of another class. You are the judge that has passed this life sentence of toil and drudgery, and the capitalist class enforces the sentence. You can repeal it when you will.

One thing it is necessary for workingmen to understand, any change in public affairs, whether it be "turn the rascals out," independence leaguers, or self-advised millionaires "saviours" of the working class; none of these will improve their conditions. None of them oppose, all of them favor "capitalism large or small." They favor the continued barter of your bodily powers and creative genius to the capitalist class. Some of them favor "large" and others "small" capitalists getting the plunder. Still others like Hearst are indifferent whether "large or small" capitalists get it so long as he can get the votes. But all of them are agreed that the taking of the plunder shall continue by excluding you from the ownership of the opportunities of getting a living. All of them agree on this except the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party demands the transfer of the opportunities of employment to society, to be common property, operated for the common good and welfare—not for capitalists "large or small." It demands that workingmen by the power of the ballot raise themselves from the plane of human merchandise to that of manhood. Men free to dispose of their creative genius and realize the results for themselves. Men who no longer have to barter themselves for a pittance, but men who, thru co-operative effort and popular control of industry, will transform every factory into a palace of art and every workshop into a studio.

This is possible by massing your mighty power at the ballot box. Your opportunity of passing on the record of those who have been entrusted with power, gives you the power to send your fellows into all the law-making bodies. This is a great responsibility. As you vote so will your conditions be. You have misused it against yourselves. You can do it again. Will you?

The state assembly and congress itself is open to the entry of a triumphant working class. Labor can have a voice and vote in these bodies. It can control the courts, control the law-making bodies and, what is more, control the executive power so as to enforce the laws it makes.

Nearly every parliament in Europe has representatives sent there by Socialist workingmen. You can follow their inspiring example and raise your class to power also. When you begin to move on to the ballot box your mighty numbers will sweep your class into power. But you must go there united on a program that espouses your interests and voices your hopes and aspirations for better things. The Socialist Party fills this requirement in every respect. It is your party and your movement. Thru it and with it you can triumph.

The capitalist system with its curse of servitude is before you. What will you do with it?

# HEARST MAY WIN, BUT WILL YOU WIN?

By Harry Rogoff.

I found my friend alone in his room reading campaign literature with an interest. He stopped as soon as he saw me, and invited me to a seat. As it was a mere friendly visit I came to pay him, I inquired about his health, his "job," his general state of mind; which questions he answered briefly but fully. Nothing new had happened since I saw him last; he was still keeping his \$8 a week job, and worked the same twelve hours a day. His prospects for getting a raise were as remote as ever.

"So, what's the use talking on this gloomy subject," he said to me with a bitter smile.

"Let us talk of something more interesting. Here I was reading some of Brisbane's editorials and they really roused me. I forgot my shop, my boss, my troubles, and all, and was simply overwhelmed with rage against the trusts and corporations that are sapping the life blood of this country."

He spoke with earnest enthusiasm. It was evident that he really was under the influence of some intoxicating literature. I knew him from last year to be a Hearst man, and so wasn't surprised at this childish admiration of the Brisbane toy editorials created to dazzle and amuse credulous minds that are attracted by exterior, bright colors rather than by solid reasoning.

We drifted into a discussion on Hearstism. My friend spoke with a warmth and a zeal that belong to the religious fanatic. I tried to shake his faith in Hearst's sincerity, but found it as firmly rooted as an oak. I attempted to inspire him with scepticism as to Hearst's ability to carry out his promises, but there, too, I failed miserably. My friend was a zealot, a fanatical worshiper of Hearst's word. To make him doubt it was as difficult as to make the savage relinquish his shrine.

I was on the verge of abandoning the discussion and leave my best friend to his mistaken ideas, when I chanced to glance upon his pale face, full of anguish and excitement, and strange feelings overpowered me—a feeling of pity for that man's misery, for his ignorance, for his misleading, self-destructive ideas. I was constrained to talk, not with the desire of convincing him, but to ease my heart of the heavy burden that now weighed down upon it. I began:

"My friend, listen to me for a few moments, not as your opponent in a controversy, but as a friend, as a comrade. Here we are—the two of us, workingmen, drudging all day long in the factory for the miserable pittance of less than \$2 a day. We feel the burden of poverty; we suffer the pangs of a dull monotonous life; we look back into our past, and it reminds us of sufferings in childhood, of woes in boyhood, of torments and tortures in youth. We look into the future and we shrink from it in horror and disgust. We know full well what spectres lurk in those dark recesses. We are only too sure of the human woes that lay there in ambush for us.

"What is there for a poor wretch, doomed to a life-long agony of toil and privation—what is it that fascinates you in Hearst and his movement? Allow me to use my imagination for a while in your employ. Let me imagine that Hearst is voted into power at the next election; that he is hailed to Albany as our next governor. Let me stretch my imagination still further and imagine that Hearst is a sincere, honest man, that the moment he is elected he sets to work with an indefatigable energy to fulfill all his promises and carry out every single plank in his platform. I will even allow my imagination to run wild, and imagine that no obstruction stands in the way of reform and that within a short space of time after his election not a single vista of his platform has been left unrealized. What then?

"Let us see what conditions will exist after this happy event. All the big corporation thieves will be sent to

prison. Jerome and McClellan will be impeached and removed from office. Many more state officials will be punished, and punished severely. Then laws will be passed to make bank failures an impossibility and the insurance graft will be abolished. The state will control the railroad and will see to it that no rebates are given to big trusts. The government will be honest in all its transactions. No official will steal from the public treasury, no favoritism will exist in appointments, or in giving any franchises. Everything will be done in an open, efficient manner. Imagine all that.

"Are you satisfied with this beautiful portrayal of Hearst's great achievements? Poor fool, now ask yourself what good will all this bring to you—yes, to your own miserable self. Will Jerome's removal increase your wages a single farthing? Will those anti-trust bills decrease your troubles and sufferings a single breath? "Look into the mirror. Read the record of your wretchedness upon your sad, embittered countenance, and you will find it is engraved too deep in your flesh and blood and brain to be erased by the gentle fanning that those windy reforms will blow against it.

"No, I will concede more. Imagine that Hearst's election will increase your wages a dollar a week. You smile at this wild extravagance, but since I have already allowed my imagination to run mad before, let it go the limit. Well, you are then richer a dollar each week. Will that relieve your misery any? Will that at least make your life tolerable, endurable? Will it take away from your mind the disgust, the oppressive monotony with which this dull, sad life inspires it? Will the burden of your existence that weighs so heavily upon you grow lighter, less painful? Will your fears, your uncertainties of the morrow get less painful?

"Why not admit that our emancipation, our freedom, is yet remote—far, far more remote—than the realization of those meaningless, futile reforms of Hearst and his like? I know it is very agreeable to have sweet dreams of a near rescue; I know it is extremely pleasant to have buoyant hopes smiling to you from a short distance. But those dreams and hopes are as dangerous as they are agreeable. We may go on dreary in the arms of unconscious sleep until death will draw us into its arms of everlasting sleep.

"My friend! Just resolve to look at the terrible reality in its full grimness and terror. Just get fully and thoroly acquainted with her terrible aspect, and you will find a new consolation, a sound, vigorous comfort, that the realization of the truth always brings to the manly, upright heart—even if it is a message from the very grave, even if it talks the word of destruction and death.

"And the truth is, that we are the unfortunate slaves of present society; that we are chained with a thousand fetters of economic, social and political wrongs; that the great world is our prison-house, where we toil for our keep—the capitalists—who keep us under the lock of false traditions and ignorance and whip us on to do their work with the terrible lashes of hunger and cold.

"And the truth is also, that we will remain these wretched slaves we are to-day, we will continue to roll in this mire of corruption and agony, until we decide to free ourselves from it. The keepers will not yield the keys to our dungeon doors of their own free will. They have never in the many thousand years of struggle against them done so before. We must strike for ourselves if we wish to be free.

"That you can do, not by working for Hearst and so-called reform, but by working for the great world wide Socialist movement—the success of which will free all the men and women of the earth from economic slavery and make of all human kind one grand fraternity."

So I left my friend.

# YOU WILL HAVE TO BE QUICK ABOUT IT! OPEN ONLY UNTIL ELECTION DAY.

## A Chance for Every Local to Equip Its Reading Room Without Cost.

As an acknowledgement rather than a reward for the efforts of our volunteer sub-takers many of whom do not care to take the 20 per cent cash discount which we offer to regular agents, The Worker makes the following offer, open from now till Election Day:

1. For \$2 in cash we will send four yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Spargo's "The Socialists," Utermann's "Science and Revolution" or "The World's Revolutions," Kautsky's "The Social Revolution," Simons' "The American Farmer," Andreiff's "The Red Laugh" (paper), or Moyer's "Songs of Socialism" (paper).

2. For \$3 in cash we will send you six yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Gorky's "Creatures That Once Were Men," "Three of Them," or "The Man Who Was Afraid," Trenholm's "The Voice of Equality," or Bonham's "A History of the Paris Commune of 1871."

3. For \$5 in cash we will send ten yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Sinclair's "The Jungle," Ghent's "Mass and Class," Spargo's "Socialism," Marx' "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism," Dawson's "German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle," Massari's "Parasitism, Organic and Social," Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," or Vall's "Principles of Scientific Socialism."

4. For \$6 in cash we will send twelve yearly paid-subscription cards and any one of the following books: Jaures' "Studies in Socialism," Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," Kirkup's "History of Socialism," Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society," Hunter's "Poverty," Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," or "The Critique of Political Economy."

All books cloth-bound unless otherwise stated.

All books sent postpaid. Remember that by selling the paid-subscription cards you will get back the full amount, so that you get the books absolutely free.

In ordering, state clearly which book you desire and to what address it is to be sent. Use postoffice money order in remitting money.

Here is a chance, comrades, to build up a good library for your local, branch, or club, and at the same time to help The Worker and make year-round propaganda for Socialism in your locality. The more books we give away as premiums, the better we shall be pleased. Send in your orders as fast as you like.

## THE WORKER,

15 Spruce St., New York.

These premiums will only be allowed on orders coming in envelopes post-marked Nov. 6 or earlier.

WORKERS vs. CAPITALISTS.

That is the One Issue in This Political Campaign and Those to Come.

By John W. Brown. There is but one issue in this campaign, and that is the interests of the working class versus the interests of the capitalist class.

The capitalist owns the factories, all the mills, the franchisees, and by virtue of that ownership grows rich, lives in palaces, rides in automobiles, sates his high seas in private yachts, drinks champagne, gambles at Monte Carlo and on the stock exchange, dictates legislation, purchases judges, owns newspapers, buys editors, subsidizes churches, hires preachers, endows colleges, academies, universities and libraries, preaches morality and practices vice, gets the gout and other diseases which are the natural fruit of licentious living, and dies. And when he dies bequeaths the earth and the fullness thereof to his living descendants.

The working class are divorced from the land, divorced from the tools, deprived of leisure, of intellectual intercourse, of proper reading, in short, of most of the means and a good portion of the aspiration which develops thought in man, reduced intellectually and morally as well as materially to a mere existence level, where the struggle for bread has become so keen that every crime has been made a virtue, and where with brain and muscle crushed and bruised upon the altars of superstition and the ceaseless turning wheels of time he must whirl on and on and on—the mere animated part of a great monstrous industrial machine. A machine that has become so brutalized by the spirit of greed that it spares neither soul nor body, tender childhood, weakness of old age, nor the delicacy of woman.

He is yet the beast of burden doing all the world's work, in heat and cold, in summer and winter, in storm and night. He toils and delves and grinds in factories, mills, and mines. He builds palaces for his masters and lives in hovels himself. He earns the meat and gnaws the bone, weaves the silk, and weaves the shoddy, creates millions in wealth and dies in poverty. He builds the railways, the factories, and the mills. The thing of steel and stone and wood is made to beat and thrash like a living organism. But when the mills are closed down he is out of work, out of money and out of home. And when old age comes on and the half is turning gray, when the step is no longer firm and the hand no longer cunning, when he can no longer be used as a means of making profit for the "masters of the bread" he is turned aside and, like a useless and worn out machine, he rots, perishes and passes!

This is the issue in this campaign. It was the issue in the last campaign. It will be the issue in the next campaign. Call it by what name they choose, the capitalist lackeys can no longer hide this issue from the workman who uses his head for any other purpose than that of a hat-rack.

This is "Americanism," and Hearst and Hughes both stand for "Americanism." And the "Americanism" which they both stand for has filed society with a chronic state of hydra-headed woe. It has given us a civilization which breeds and prizes the blooded brute and damns as worthless a newborn human babe. It has filled our jails with criminals, our poorhouses with paupers, our asylums with lunatics, our highways with tramps, our streets with prostitutes, our churches with hypocrites, our palaces with shysters and our public houses and legislative halls, national, state, and municipal, with thieves, knaves and demagogues. And the perpetuation of this "Americanism" simply means exploitation, plunder, slaughter, annihilation, hell and damnation for the working class!

The Socialist Party is the only party in the political arena that should for one moment command the serious attention of the working class. The Socialist Party alone stands committed to the abolition of the capitalist system, root and branch, and the establishment of a co-operative industrial civilization, based upon the common ownership of all the means for the production and distribution of wealth. And between this and absolute economic despotism there is, and there can be, no middle ground. A vote for either of the two old parties is a vote for slavery. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for freedom.

Attend the Socialist meetings and hear our speakers discuss working-class issues. Reading Socialist literature is the best way to learn the truth about Socialism.

HUGH O. PENTECOST. Speaks every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock on some phase of Socialism at LYRIC HALL, Sixth ave., just below Forty-second st.

Admission Free. SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO. 15 Spruce Street New York City

SLAVERY DEFINED.

Every One of These Conditions Exists in an Aggravated Form in America To Day.

Horace Greeley, in a letter to the national convention of Abolitionists, held in Cincinnati, defines human slavery as follows: "First—Whenever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so, but because they must, there (I think) is slavery."

"Second—Whenever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the positions they occupy and the functions they perform, are generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions or none, there (I think) is slavery."

"Third—Whenever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to extract for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth there is something very like slavery."

"Fourth—Whenever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms and pay the laborers only such as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency for slavery."

"Fifth—Whenever it is deemed more reputable to live without labor than by labor, so that a gentleman would be rather ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith than from an idler or mere pleasure seeker, there is a community not very far from slavery; and."

"Sixth—Whenever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience or comfort, and thus to live, diverting the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special uses, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains human slavery."—Ex.

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Just as there are two conflicting interests in society so the antagonism between them finds expression in administering the "law." In order to enforce on the workers a reverence for the "impartiality of the law" and to atone for its rigid enforcement against them, it is necessary to formally observe the forms of imprisonment when the "law" is violated by others. But the forms only. The "majesty of the law" is vindicated by the formal receipt of the respectable prisoner. After that, care for his "comfort" is the chief consideration.

In short, the force of enforcing the sentence is carried just far enough to enforce belief in the fiction of "equality before the law." This belief is absolutely essential to the preservation of class justice and the problem of those administering it is, "how far can the force be carried without exposing its class character to the masses." The answer to the question will determine the degree of "comfort" that respectable swindlers and thieves will enjoy. To make them entirely immune from the application of the penal code would be "dangerous." That is, dangerous to the continuance of class justice for such application of it would injure the victims of it to revolt.

But even the lenient enforcement of the penalty in the case of Senator Burton cannot but impress workmen with its hypocrisy. Having accepted the assurance of a "square deal and no favors," they will find it hard to reconcile its enforcement in the case of Burton, with that of the man who steals bread. That theory and facts are in conflict will be apparent to them and in proportion as the antagonism between theory and fact grows more acute, so will correct views regarding the "square deal" become more widespread among them. And the Socialist will assist in the educational work.

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