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The Worker

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 21.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 21, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THOMAS W. LAWSON'S OPENING SHOT.

First Instalment of his Sensational Exposure of the Standard Oil Ring.

Big Copper Capitalist Who Has Been On the Inside Vividly Describes the Organization, the Power and the Corrupt and Despotic Methods of the Greatest Industrial and Financial Oligarchy the World Has Ever Seen.

Thomas W. Lawson, the big Boston capitalist who was used and deceived by the Standard Oil rulers in the Annapolis Copper deal, is using all his energy and resources, his law suits and his magazine articles to expose and harass his former associates and betrayers.

His introductory announcement last month in "Everybody's Magazine" promised the most sensational and amazing disclosures. The first article of the series, which appeared in the August number of "Everybody's," is a promising beginning.

The first reads in part as follows: "Wall Street and the financial world know that there are two 'Standard Oils,' but to the public there is no clear distinction between Standard Oil, the corporation which deals in oil and things which pertain to the manufacture and transportation of oil, and 'Standard Oil,' the giant, indefinite system which sometimes embraces all the 'Standard Oil' group of individuals and corporations and sometimes only certain of the individuals.

"This giant creature, 'Standard Oil,' can best be described so that the average man will understand it as a group of money-owners—some individuals and some corporations—who have a right to use the name 'Standard Oil' in any business enterprise they engage in. The right to use the name is of priceless value, for it carries with it 'assured success.'

"Standard Oil, the seller of oil to the people, transacts its business as does any other corporation, but as it plays no part in my story, I shall not hereafter touch upon its affairs, but confine myself wherever I use the name 'Standard Oil,' to the larger and many times more important 'system.'"

Rockefeller's Army.

"There are eight distinct groups of individuals and corporations which go to make up the big 'Standard Oil':—1st. The Standard Oil, seller of oil to the people, which is made up of many sub-corporations by actual ownership or by ownership of their stock, or bonds. Probably no person other than Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, and John D. Rockefeller, knows exactly what the assets of the Standard Oil corporation are, although John D. Rockefeller, Jr., son of John D. Rockefeller, Charles Williams G. Rockefeller, the able and excellent business son of William Rockefeller and the probable future head of 'Standard Oil,' are being rapidly educated to this great secret. In this first instalment all 'Standard Oil' individuals and estates are direct owners.

"2d. Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, and John D. Rockefeller, active heads, and included with them their sons.

"3. A large group of active captains and first lieutenants, men who conduct the affairs of the different corporations or sections of corporations in which some or all of the 'Standard Oil' are interested. Many of these are the sons or the second generation of others who held like positions in Standard Oil's earlier days and of these Daniel O'Leary and Charles Pratt are fair examples.

"4th. A large group of captains retired from active service in the Standard Oil army, who only participate in a general way in the management of its affairs, and whose principal business is looking after their investments. These men are each worth from \$5,000,000 or \$10,000,000 to \$50,000,000 or \$75,000,000. The Flynnes and the Flaglers are fair illustrations of this group.

"5th. The estates of deceased members of this wonderful 'Standard Oil' family, which are still largely controlled by some or all of the prominent 'Standard Oil' men.

"6th. 'Standard Oil' banks and banking institutions, and the system of national banks, trust companies, and insurance companies, of which the 'Standard Oil' has by ownership and otherwise practically a complete control. The head of this group is James Stillman, and it is when they are called into play in connection with 'Standard Oil' business that he is one of the Standard Oil leaders, second to neither Mr. Rogers nor either of the Rockefellers.

"7th. The 'Standard Oil' army of followers, capitalists, and workers in all parts of the world, men who never require anything more than the order, 'Go ahead,' 'Pull off,' 'Buy,' 'Sell,' or 'Stay where you are,' to render as absolute obedience and enthusiastic cooperation as though they knew to the smallest detail the purposes which entered into the giving of the order.

"8th. THE COUNTLESS Hordes of politicians, statesmen, law makers and enforcers, who, at home or abroad, are kept busy with the machinery of the Standard Oil system.

HE WANTS THE LABOR VOTE!

Some Account of Parker's Running Mate.

Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Democratic Party is One of the Most Bitter and Unscrupulous Enemies of Labor in the Country.

WHEELING, W. Va., Aug. 14.—Three months of travel and observation in West Virginia has made the writer fairly familiar with its industrial conditions. Coal mining is the chief industrial interest of the Mountain State. The mining of coal is carried on at something like two hundred different points. Now the average coal camp anywhere is not very inviting, either to look at or to live in. Hardly a coal camp can be found that is a thoroughly modern one, with a comfortable place in which to raise a family. A dull, monotonous prospect, with no signs of beauty, bad sanitary conditions, and with the marks of body breaking, soul crushing toil written plain on every face and form you meet, characterizes the coal camp in whatever part of the country you find it.

Yet there are degrees of badness even in coal camps. Unquestionably the worst coal camps in the United States are located in West Virginia. Many of these have proven veritable hell-camps to the miners employed therein. This state is par excellence the land of the injunction. It is here that the notorious Judge Jackson flourishes like a green bay tree.

Nowhere in America has capitalism been more brutal and unscrupulous than in West Virginia, in suppressing every form of unionism. It is akin to high treason in this state for the workers to act together for the protection of their own interests. The mine owners of the state are the leaders in the war on the unions. Desperately have the miners fought, and bitter has been their suffering to maintain the semblance of an organization. Yet there are degrees of badness even in the coal camps of West Virginia.

Taking the testimony of men high in the councils of the United Mine Workers, I find that the very worst coal camps in West Virginia are those controlled by the "Hon." Henry G. Davis, the tail of the Democratic national ticket. This man's hatred of unions is intense. Against the unions he has steadily waged war without quarter. He needs no aid or assistance in his methods to subdue his rebellious subjects. It is affirmed that as president of a big bank he warned the merchants of his mining district that they could not carry an account in his bank if they gave credit to any of his striking miners. The Henry G. Davis coal mining interests have been the most active in the state in bringing black men from the far South to take the place of striking white miners. This same Henry G. Davis has been the most vigorous and active factor in the judicial war against the unions of this state. No man has played a larger part in the injunction method of crushing workingmen. Mr. Davis has been the king pin in a game in which Judge Jackson has simply been a tool.

Knowing the life history of Mr. Davis, we need not wonder at his methods. He is a typical Southern task master, though not to the manner born. He was at one time a wage worker. "In the days before the war, sah," he rose to the position of a plantation overseer, which means that he was the driver of black slaves. He must have liked the business, for he has continued as a slave driver, in the bad sense of the term, even into the present day.

Down here, Mr. Davis is called "the owner of West Virginia." His holdings in the state are indeed tremendous. By paying up back taxes he procured a large share of his possessions. For the balance it is said he paid about sixteen cents per acre. Supposedly worthless lands have been proven very rich in minerals, and natural gas, a fact with which Mr. Davis acquainted himself prior to purchase. By this sort of cunning over-reaching he laid the groundwork of his fortune. Supplementing these methods with the grinding of the workers, whose toil has realized the wealth stored up in his possessions, Mr. Davis has developed into a mighty multi-millionaire. It is this sort of thing which the modern two-legged donkey worships in the name of Enterprise.

The talents of Mr. Davis are entirely of the money grabbing order. I speak advisedly. He has not distinguished himself in any other direction. He is not noted for education, culture, philanthropy, public spirit, breadth of view. Those who have studied his Congressional record declare that it consisted in getting things done for West Virginia that afterwards contributed to the building up of the private fortune of Henry G. Davis. They tell a story down here—I will not vouch for its truth—of how Mr. Davis procured a government appropriation to clear the rubbish out of a certain West Virginia river. Shortly after the task was completed large amounts of timber belonging to Henry G. Davis were seen floating down the river.

The Democratic party has at last reached the stage of consistency. That party nationally is dominated by the solid South. Forty-three years ago the master class of this same South plunged this nation into civil war for the upholding of human slavery. At the present time the worst form of child labor in America exists in the South, through collusion of the factory lords with Southern Democratic bosses. Trade unionism has hardly taken root in Southern soil. Nowhere in this country do the working class count for so little as in the South—nowhere are the workers' wages and standard of living so low. The Democratic masters of the South are as lordly and over-bearing to-day as when they cracked their whips over chattel slaves. It is entirely fitting that the national ticket of such a party should be graced with an experienced "nigger driver." From the viewpoint of the profit robbers and slave drivers of this nation, Mr. Henry G. Davis is indeed "wise, safe, and conservative."

AN AGENCY TO BREAK STRIKES.

Typical Instrument of Capitalism

One of the Many Employment Agencies Which Make a Speciality of Furnishing Scabs and Thugs to Employers.

The following confidential letter to employers from the largest employment bureau on the Pacific Coast shows what kind of service is wanted by the labor-crushing corporations and how easily they can get it.

FAILURE OF ARBITRATION.

Class Struggle Must Be Fought Out.

"Humanity" and "Right" Count for Nothing. Only Power and Fighting Strength Gain Anything for Labor—Remarkable Article by William Hard and Ernest Poole in the "Outlook."

In the current number of the "Outlook" is a remarkable article by William Hard and Ernest Poole, "The Stock Yards Strike; Competitive Wages and the Right to Live," dealing mainly with the question of industrial arbitration, from which the following is quoted:

"How would you fix a fair wage if it were left to you? How would you attempt to prove that 18 1/2 cents an hour is too high a wage for unskilled labor if you were arguing before an arbitration committee?"

"The man to whom these questions were addressed is the general manager of one of the big packing companies. He looked out from his window over the cluttered, smoke-filled, orderless and dreary prospect, and said: 'Every morning at what rate there are hundreds of men who are willing to perform unskilled labor for less than 18 1/2 cents an hour. Many of those men are willing to take even 15 cents an hour. Companies like the Illinois Steel Company and the Harvester Company are paying about 15 cents an hour at the present time. It is unfair to ask us to pay more than the market rate. When the market demands 18 1/2 cents an hour for unskilled labor, it is bucking the law of supply and demand.'"

"But suppose," said the interviewer, "that the men should ignore the law of supply and demand. Suppose that they should say 'Let 18 1/2 cents an hour be the lowest wage at which a man can do his work. If you do not agree to this, we will go on strike.' How would you attempt to meet this demand?"

"I don't think," said the general manager, "that we should regard an attempt based on profits and living conditions as a proper argument for an arbitration committee to consider."

The interviewer felt the dove of peace was rapidly mouthing one of its finest feathers. What will become, then, of arbitration? You talk about the law of supply and demand. The men talk about profits and living conditions. Those two lines of argument could be extended a million miles without end, but they never converge. What is here left to do except FIGHT?"

"You have said it," said the general manager. "The writers of the 'Outlook' article then quote a member of the Chicago Board of Arbitration as saying: 'IF THE UNION HAD SHOWN UP PRETTY STRONG, WE GAVE THEM A LARGE PART OF WHAT THEY ASKED FOR.' THE EMPLOYER HAD GOT THE UNION PRETTY WELL BEATEN, IT DIDN'T SEEM RIGHT NOT TO THROW THINGS HIS WAY, and further on they say: 'There is in Chicago a labor reporter who is sought out for information and consultation by the biggest labor leaders of America when they happen to be in town. He was at one time connected with the Illinois State Board of Arbitration. The strategic position which he now holds is as unique as it is creditable. Every big Chicago strike feels his influence not only as a reporter but as an impartial adviser.'"

"Arbitration?" said Luke Grant, "I'm not getting out the comic supplement. But if you want my opinion, I will give you one of the rules that I once wrote for the benefit of arbitrators: 'Submit five cigars, split the difference—and call in the reporters.' That's what arbitrators are always doing. And when their decision isn't a compromise, it's apt to be a wise guess at the FIGHTING STRENGTH each side has shown. Arbitration in Chicago has established practically no body of principles."

The conclusion of the article is expressed in the following paragraphs: "Except in isolated cases, it is clear that arbitration so far is a straddle rather than a science. Being a straddle, IT CAN BE APPLIED ONLY WHEN THE STRUGGLE HAS PROCEEDED TO THE POINT WHERE A REFEREE IS NEEDED FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A DECISION."

"Arbitration cannot become a science until it has done something to reconcile the two points of view above outlined, and to establish a consistent body of principles governing questions like these:— 'Will arbitration have found reasonably sufficient answers to these questions. It will remain what it is to-day—a diplomatic means of concluding peace after a struggle, instead of a scientific method of so fixing wages on recognized principles as to make future struggle unnecessary.'"

The questions above referred to, here omitted for the sake of brevity, are all summed up in the question: Shall wages be determined by the law of supply and demand or by the right of the laborer to a decent living?"

OF TWO EVILS CHOOSE NEITHER.

Object to what they style 'government by injunction' are in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves and fought one another with stone-headed axes."

He is the author of the following endorsement of President Cleveland's action in sending the troops to break the great A. R. U. strike against the protest of Governor Altgeld, which can be found in the "Forum" of February, 1895, in his article on "True American Ideals" and which the New York "Sun" reprints with the significant headline "Doctrine of Colorado, the Stockyards and Elsewhere:"

The worst foes of America are the foes to that orderly liberty without which our Republic must speedily perish. The reckless labor agitator who arouses the mob to riot and bloodshed is in the last analysis the most dangerous of the workingman's enemies. This man is a real peril, so is his sympathizer, the legislator who, to catch votes, "denounces the judiciary and the military because they put down mobs."

The demagogue, in all his forms, is as characteristic an evil of a free society as the courtier is of a despotism; and the attitude of many of our public men at the time of the great strike last July was such as to call down the condemnation of every American who wishes well to his country.

Had it not been for the admirable action of the Federal Government, Chicago would have seen a repetition of what occurred during the Paris Commune, while Illinois would have been torn by a fierce social war. It was a most fortunate thing that the action at Washington was so quick and so emphatic. The president and Attorney-General Olney acted with equal wisdom and courage, and the danger was averted.

The completeness of the victory of the Federal authorities, representing the cause of law and order, has been perhaps one reason why it was so soon forgotten. Governor Altgeld, though prominent, did not stand alone in his unenviable prominence. Governor Walte of Colorado stood with him. Most of the Populist Governors of the Western States and the Republican Governor of Colorado and the Democratic Governor of North Dakota shared the shame with him; and it makes no difference whether in entering to riotous mobs they paid heed to their own timidity and weakness or to that spirit of blatant demagogism which, more than any other, jeopardizes the existence of free institutions.

Every true American, every man who thinks and who, if the occasion come, is ready to act, may do well to ponder upon the evil wrought by the lawlessness of the disorderly classes when once they are able to elect their own chiefs to power. If the Government generally got into the hands of such men as Altgeld and the other Governors like him referred to, the Republic would go to pieces in a year, and it would be right that it should go to pieces, for the election of such men shows that the people electing them are unfit to be intrusted with self-government.

According to Roosevelt then, Cleveland's action in sending the troops without cause to lawlessly crush a great strike was admirable; all strikers are "mobs" and "disorderly classes" and all officials who show them the slightest sympathy or even respect their constitutional rights are "blatant demagogues."

So much for Terrible Teddy, the strenuous imperialist who occasionally makes a politician's pretense of friendship for labor in the hope of catching the votes of the gullible workingmen whom he despises.

Roosevelt's running mate on the Republican ticket, Charles Fairbanks, is a multi-millionaire—enough said.

Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, is also a multi-millionaire, and an especially militant and vicious one, as may be judged from the account of him given by a correspondent in another column of this paper.

The vast capitalist interests of Henry G. Davis, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, are thus described by the Philadelphia "North American:"

Although his great interests center in West Virginia, where in the development of the natural resources of that state, he has amassed a large fortune, Henry G. Davis, nominee of the Democratic party for Vice-President, has close associations in Philadelphia. For years he has maintained offices here and conducted a large business.

His new railroad and coal and coke companies, created within the last two years by reinvestment of some of the millions paid by the Goulds for the maintenance offices in the Land Title building. Here is the general sales office of the Davis Colliery Company, which controls 150,000 acres of coal land in Randolph and adjoining counties in West Virginia. About \$2,500,000 has been expended in the purchase and development of these lands, which are already producing 1,000,000 tons of coal per annum.

The remarkable vigor and enterprise of Senator Davis is demonstrated by the way he started in his eightieth year. No sooner had he and his associates, including Senator Stephen B. Elkins and R. C. Kerens, sold out the West Virginia Railway, which carried with it the Davis Coal and Coke Company, than he began anew. Twenty years had been given to creating these properties, which were sold to the Gould party for \$19,000,000.

When Senator Davis bought the coal lands he now owns, he also bought three small railroads. These he consolidated into one, the Coal & Coke Railway, capitalized at \$10,000,000, and began the construction of a connecting line from Elkins to Gassaway. That is to be completed by spring, giving a through line connecting with the Chesapeake & Ohio at Charleston, W. Va., on the southwest, and with both the Baltimore & Ohio and West Virginia Central at the other end.

Through this railroad Senator Davis aims not only to develop his new coal fields, but also to obtain competitive outlets. He is in position to give traffic with equal facility to both Gould and Cassatt lines. It is for this reason, and also because in the fight between these two railroad groups the new Davis properties may become an important key, that both A. J. Cassatt and the Gould interests are working to keep close to Senator Davis.

Whenever he comes to Philadelphia, which is every few weeks, he lunches with President Cassatt. In the latter's private office. As a shipper over the Pennsylvania Railroad from Cumberland, Md., and over the Baltimore & Ohio from Burlington, W. Va., there are traffic matters to be discussed. Senator Davis is a shrewd business man and understands how to play one interest against another for his own advantage, as he did when conflicting railroad groups bid up the West Virginia Central, the selling price of which netted the owners big profit on their investment.

Such are the Republican and Democratic parties: "Multi-millionaires and capitalist politicians on their presidential tickets, and corporation lawyers, boodle politicians, and labor-skinning plutocrats always on their state and municipal tickets.

What choice will the workingman make between the two? Can any workingman cast his ballot for either of these obscene and treacherous gangs. BETWEEN TWO EVILS—CHOOSE NEITHER. There is another party in the field, a party of the working class, composed of workmen and on a working class platform, representing working class interests—THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

And just as the candidates of the old parties reflect the character of those parties, so do the candidates of the Socialist Party reflect its character. Its Presidential candidate, EUGENE V. DEBS, is a famous labor leader who has always valiantly fought for his class. His running mate, BENJAMIN HANFORD, a veteran member of Typographical Union No. 6, is another. Both have been through strikes and struggles with their fellows, learned the interests of their class, and devoted their lives to its emancipation.

Which will YOU vote for? Roosevelt and the capitalist class or Parker and the capitalist class, or Debs and the working class?

GREAT MASS MEETING FOR DEBS.

At Carnegie Hall, Fifty-sixth street and Seventh avenue, New York, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, will answer Grover Cleveland's attack on the famous American Railway Union strike and his attempt to defend his sending Federal troops against the strikers. George D. Herron will preside. Admission, 10 cents; box seats, 25 cents; platform seats, 50 cents. Tickets are now on sale at the office of The Worker and at the following places: New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; W. E. A., 206 E. Eighty-sixth street; W. E. A., 3300 Third avenue; T. J. Lewis' upholstery store, 1824 Broadway; office of "The Comrade," 11 Cooper Square; office of "The Forward," 175 E. Broadway; store, 255 E. Twenty-seventh street; Ploetz's Hall, 240 E. Eighteenth street; E. J. Nacht's cigar store, 623 Tenth avenue.

Every Socialist and sympathizer should make every effort to dignify this meeting as widely as possible. Thirty thousand cards advertising the meeting are ready for distribution and 2,000 large posters with Debs' picture are to be placed. A supply of these cards can be obtained at the office of the Organizer, 64 E. Fourth street, at any time between 10 a. m. and 10 p. m. Comrades who are willing to volunteer to distribute the cards, act as ushers at the meeting or do any other committee work are requested to communicate with the Organizer at once. Invitations have been sent to all labor organizations inviting them to attend the Debs meeting.

Typographical Union No. 6 of New York has voted \$400 for the Colorado miners.

(Continued on page 2)

The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY. AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK, BY THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION. P. O. BOX 1512. Telephone Call 302 Joh.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in Advance. One year, \$1.00. Six months, \$0.50. Single copies, 10 cents. Bundle Rates: Less than 100 copies, per copy, 10 cents. 100 copies, 9 cents. 250 copies, 8 cents. 500 copies or more, per hundred, 6 cents. Weekly: 10 copies, 1 cent. 25 per week, one year, \$1.25. 50 per week, one year, \$2.50. 100 per week, one year, \$5.00.

Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts payable to The Worker. Communications concerning the editorial department of The Worker should be addressed to the Editor. Communications for the Secretary of the Socialist Party should be addressed to the Secretary of the Socialist Party, 184 William Street, New York. Receipts are not sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper. All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper. Letters should be addressed to the Editor. Letters should be addressed to the Editor. Letters should be addressed to the Editor.

As the Worker goes to press on Wednesday, the following news items are of interest: The Socialist Party in New York State is expected to win a majority in the next election. The party is growing rapidly in membership and influence. The party is expected to win a majority in the next election.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 4, 1901.

In the State of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown above.

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1904 (Presidential) \$7.75. 1902 (State and Congressional) \$2.99.75.

FOR PRESIDENT—EUGENE V. DEBS, OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—BENJAMIN HANFORD, OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET—FOR GOVERNOR—THOS. PENDERGAST, OF WATERTOWN.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—CHARLES R. BACH, OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—E. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—EMIL NEPPML of New York.

For Attorney-General—LEON A. MALKIEL of New York.

For State Comptroller—W. W. PASSAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—S. B. EARLY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals—WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

STRAIGHT TALK FROM THE ENEMY.

Continually and persistently have the Socialists sought to impress upon the laborers of the country, organized and unorganized, that there is no help for them in either the Republican or Democratic parties, and that their only hope lies in the Socialist Party.

It is the contention of the Socialists that the labor vote is a delusion and a snare, and that the only way to secure the rights of the laborer is through the Socialist Party.

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conventions delegates representing the American Federation of Labor lobbied and threatened to no purpose. The eight-hour bill was thrown down by the Republicans. Bryan's anti-injunction and eight-hour bill by the Democrats. "Mr. Hearst," says the editorial, sarcastically, "was, of course, absent." Even a resolution denouncing the actions of Peabody was knocked out, its proposer being denounced himself as a demagogue.

"The two labor bodies," says the editorial, "were, to put it bluntly, thrown out bodily in both places." It then prints the two so-called "labor planks" of both platforms, side by side, and adds the following caudal comment:

If it is to be said that these planks mean nothing, and distinctly say nothing, it is also true that they are both alike—both of them so much alike that it is impossible to say which is the most alike.

To the Democratic working class voters, the following excerpt will be found most interesting, as showing what the capitalists expect from those two "friends of labor," Bryan and Hearst:

Mr. Bryan, their only friend at St. Louis (if he was their friend), threatened, it is true, to compel Judge Parker to answer certain questions. But he does not bolt the ticket; he does not become the Moses of any independent movement of the unionists.

But it will be asked, what about Mr. Hearst? He has been the greatest among all the philosophers and statesmen of America, or of the world, to advocate independent political action by the unions. He does not bolt the ticket either. He has already offered to the candidate of the party to which he threatens to keep himself attached, the support of "all my papers."

Thus far Parry's organ. And in answer to the anticipated objection, "what is organized labor going to do?" It answers, "We do not see what organized labor will do. We hardly see what it can do—except finally subside into a freedom-loving and law-abiding force, so far as it is a force." Which rendered into plain English, means that, as organized labor is looked upon as a contemptible and impotent beggar by the politicians of both parties, it may prepare itself for the slavery and dumb submission which Parry dubs "freedom loving and law abiding."

The premises are true—too true. From the old parties there is nothing to hope—the Bryans and Hearsts are broken reeds upon which organized labor has foolishly leaned, false and deceitful champions who, in spite of their bluster and brag, desert the cause they pretend to support, when political exigencies demand it. But the conclusion is a lie. Political organization is possible for the working class. The appearance of Socialism, both throughout the world and in this country also, proves them liars, and that their lie is begotten of the terror of this very possibility.

In Colorado the persecution of Socialism through the ranks of organized labor has forced the Citizens' Alliance to the most desperate steps to foil the power of labor in process of political organization. In declaring that their war was on Socialism, they have cast the lie straight into the teeth of Parry, and proven that labor tending towards political organization is not a thing to be despised and scorned, but the most formidable foe they ever encountered.

And it proves more still, namely, that the "labor vote" is only a reality when it takes the form of a Socialist movement. Otherwise, when allied with capitalist politics and politicians, it is "a delusion and a snare." The editorial carries as its chief lesson to workmen the old truth, so often insisted on by Socialists, that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

SOCIALISM vs. WAR.

While the hostile fleets of Russia and Japan were smashing each other to fragments last week, and the daily papers were regaling their readers with lurid accounts of the murderous war, a still more significant meeting of Russia and Japan took place in Amsterdam, where, at the international Socialist Congress, two members, each representing the proletariat of one of the hostile nations, publicly shook hands at the opening of the proceedings, thus declaring in the face of the world, the position of Socialists on the question of war. Both asserted in almost identical language the truth that the workers of all countries must learn, that modern warfare is the result of class rule, and that until class rule is abolished, workmen who have no quarrel with each other, must give up their lives by the hundreds of thousands for the benefit solely of their economic rulers.

The various peace conferences and proposals for disarmament have signally failed to accomplish their alleged purpose. The entrance of Socialism into this question must become of increasing importance with every passing year, and with the growth and spread of its principles it is certain that war will become a pastime in which "war-lords" and military bureaucracies will hesitate before indulging. Even now the strength of Socialism in Germany is recognized by many as one of the best possible guarantees for the peace of Europe.

War is one of the many contradictions of our capitalist system. It is not necessary to accuse the capitalist advocates of universal and permanent

peace between nations, of hypocrisy on this question. It is the inability to perceive the capitalistic contradiction that is becoming ever more distinct, that evokes the delusion with which their efforts are greeted.

Capitalism does not want war between large nations, although it always tends to produce it. War destroys commerce and interferes with profit especially when those who engage in it are anything like evenly matched. And as the commercial bonds which unite nations grow stronger, the aversion to war becomes ever more pronounced, because as capitalism becomes more and more international in character, the danger of being drawn into the vortex of a universal war, increases. This is one side of the contradiction.

The other may be found in the necessity of acquiring new markets for its products which capitalism imperatively demands. Without markets it must perish. And as this condition is equally incumbent on all capitalist national groups, and markets are limited and must be fought for to be secured, the threat of war continually hangs over modern capitalist society and must while it remains capitalistic.

It is this inexorable condition that Socialism recognizes, and therefore urges the abolition of the capitalist system of production as the only condition on which universal peace can be assured.

When the necessities of life are not produced for profit but for use, the "market" as we know it now, disappears as a bone of contention, and peace becomes the normal situation. The perception of this truth and of the common interests of all workmen against all capitalists enables Socialists alone to extend the hand of friendship to brother workmen when the respective nations to which they belong are at war.

The time will assuredly come when men shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, when nation shall not rise against nation and war shall be known no more, but it will only come when the present system disappears in the triumph of Socialism.

That a Socialist paper needs a solid financial basis on which to start is again evidenced by the suspension of the "Burlington County Times" of New Jersey, which a few weeks ago had the temerity to endorse the national Socialist ticket. The immediate result of this action was a boycott of its readers, which has now ended in the discontinuance of the paper. Possibly the "Burlington County Times" has a majority of its readers, members of the working class. It is not a very encouraging prospect to see the very men who would benefit by a paper representing their real interests, deliberately withdrawing their support with the intention of destroying the unwelcome truth teller. But such is evidently the fact, and it must be reckoned with. To firmly establish a Socialist journal, the field must be cultivated carefully in advance. Unless this is done failure is certain to result.

Our movement is making rapid progress. It is true, but none the less, the handicap on a Socialist paper has hardly yet been lightened to any perceptible degree. Socialist organs are still battling with prejudices established by long custom and as yet scarcely shaken. Oftentimes such organs are overwhelmed in the end though they may have been started with seemingly fair prospects. How much less chance a capitalist paper that suddenly adopts a Socialist policy has to live, may be read in the demise of the "Burlington County Times."

The above significant sentence forms part of an eloquent plea for the Catholic parochial schools, made by Alexander P. Doyle, editor of the "Catholic World" of New York, at a Chautauqua lecture recently. Father Doyle emphatically declared that the Church did not want a subsidy for teaching religion, and would not accept one penny, either from public or private sources, for such a purpose. What it did want, however, was "payment for approved results," as the reversed gentleman put it.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Weekly Circulation Statement Showing Condition of The Worker.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Includes: Printed (13,500), Single subscriptions (9,142), Bundles (650), Sample copies (144), Exchanges (569), Sold in office bundles and at retail (2,451), Gain for week (670).

With Rockefeller in control of the Republican, and Belmont of the Democratic party, how much "smuggling" do you figure the trusts will receive in the next four years?

BECAUSE YOU STAND FOR ALL.

By Horace Traubel.

Because you stand for all. That is why I stand for you. Because you propose to describe the full circle of justice. Because you propose that there shall be no outside to your circumference. Because what you have started out to do is big enough to provide room for all. Because there is to be no mean or ignorant leakage from the measureless reservoir of your benevolence. Because such things are so real you are real. Because such are your aims you are sure to satisfy my spirit. I feel that about you. Assured about you. I am not afraid to trust myself in the dark with you. Not afraid that you may knife me in my sleep. Not afraid that the dinner I have worked for will be found on my table. Because you are what you are. Because you stand for all and admit no outside.

The procession will pass. And you will see that the procession may have had side enough to include yesterday. Because you propose that there shall be no outside to your circumference. Because what you have started out to do is big enough to provide room for all.

Because you stand for all. That is why I stand for you. Because you propose to describe the full circle of justice. Because you propose that there shall be no outside to your circumference. Because what you have started out to do is big enough to provide room for all.

ONE VIEW OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

By Joe Wanhope.

"The time may come, too, when the state will need the strong and conservative arm of the Catholic Church to banish Socialism."

The above significant sentence forms part of an eloquent plea for the Catholic parochial schools, made by Alexander P. Doyle, editor of the "Catholic World" of New York, at a Chautauqua lecture recently. Father Doyle emphatically declared that the Church did not want a subsidy for teaching religion, and would not accept one penny, either from public or private sources, for such a purpose.

AT AMSTERDAM.

Demonstration of the International Solidarity of Labor at the Great Socialist Congress.

AMSTERDAM, Aug. 14.—The International Socialist and Trade Union Congress opened here to-day. There was great applause when two of the vice-presidents, Katayama of Japan, and Plechanoff of Russia, publicly shook hands.

Mr. Katayama, speaking in English, said: "I am glad to see a delegate here from Russia, with which country our own is waging one of the most disastrous wars that have ever done violence to the fraternity of nations. Japanese Socialists ever since 1895 have expected a Socialist revolution in Japan."

Don't forget to attend the grand meeting at Carnegie Hall, Friday, August 13, at 8 p. m. Eugene V. Debs will speak, and he will have something to say worth hearing.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIETY.

Peter E. Burrows.

No one is intentionally hindered by any interest external to himself from learning all the truth he has time to pick up about nature. With what ability the slave heritage of ages may have left us, and with what means to pay for masters, we are all free to investigate the starchy systems, to analyze the air, to resolve matter into its primitives, to explore the oceans, the rivers, the forests, the deserts and the depths, for no class iniquity may be unveiled by these studies and in high places there is nothing to be feared from investigation. But from this little trouble has ever been experienced by vested interests, for the poor student surely becomes pensioner to some private or institutional fund long before he has gained a reputation; in order to preserve which, and to pursue the studies now his source of pleasure and his source of income, he learns to keep his acquired habits of investigation away from subjects tabooed by social conservatism.

The outcry raised by esthetic England against the Manchester science of political economy was, at the heart of it, a nobility outcry. Neither the nobles nor the church could desire to see any science take the place of the always flexible will of God! Man, like his maker, should remain an interesting mystery, readable now and then by stellar conjunctions, but not by popular science. His springs of action are too starchy, you know, too starchy, his destiny too angelic to be figured out economically and demonstrated by an uncomplimentary science. Therefore the superior social elements of caste and rank and church were disgusted with political economy, so it was as grandly denounced by Ruskin and his anti-tipped esthetes as it was sordidly embraced by the middle class readers of Smith and Malthus. But the denouncers and the embracers had each their peculiar economic motive for hating or embracing it.

A current of class motives, unknown to us, generally determines our attitude towards subjects of human living, and there is very little real investigation done by men until after this silent law has determined our opinions. This ordained necessity of deciding beforehand, or having decided for us beforehand, our opinions on a certain class of questions, or of a whole science of questions, was therefore no peculiar sin of theirs; it is the established habit of a divided society regarding an investigation of truths about itself.

The nobility and the church were well satisfied with the social machinery of a divine will operated by heroes and seers which could be kept divine by their ecclesiencies and their explanations, for they, by the very nature of their functions, made themselves to be no insignificant part of the divinity which they explained. It was this grand old church that had upon explanation that produced most of our theology and philosophy, which made good slaves and secured themselves undisturbed in their title deeds. Naturally they were slow to recognize the claims of large laws which might not come into the local sheepfolds at the piping of the old shepherds. They were willing enough to accept such truths about society as they could ladle out to others, but such as were good enough to include themselves they had no stomach for. To them truth was always something on the way down, and none of it could come up. "Naturally" is as good a word as can be chosen for that sort of second nature which makes people's minds up for them on such matters as may affect the ownership of social power or the use of it as between my lords and the people.

My lords were getting into debt and money was displacing acres. The rising class was knocking at the doors of the old chateaux with mortgages in their hands and armies of ambitious relations at their heels. To them the truth about society was therefore a coming up, a knocking, a clamor, a scornful shout, a criticism of everything from the peacock strutting on my lord's lawn to the peacock strutting on my lord's altar. Hence the vagaries and indecision and throbbing new thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

I suppose there was really never a middle class in society, the thing so called being but the glimpses of persons passing up and persons passing down—a midway experience; so the attempt to base the permanent politics of a nation in any degree upon the shifting opinions of unclassified economic pilgrims who are on their way to the economic hell or heaven was either a folly or a deceit.

Now that good, old pagan gentleness, Aristotle, seems him gives all the light that we can get on this matter. The truth is a limit! And there the great governmental injunction ascends must be called into requisition and the middle class coat tail must be cut off for evermore. And this limit is the interesting point in history at which we have arrived in America to-day.

Democracy and commercialism cannot play in the same back yard. Let us now be serious and fight, lordly, not against lowly labor. Let us unfurl our banner in Colorado. Here it seems that commerce had the greatest opportunity and some desire to see its workers live fairly decent lives. Economically Colorado is a tender spot. Gold and silver, the royal instruments by which artificial families can be produced in any or every home, which prescribes therefore the perpetual dependence of a class without an upon a class with it, were brought to surface here. The mines, one might say, contain the ammunition, the death-dealing, slave-making substance of commercialism. If there be any capitalistic intelligence or class-consciousness anywhere in the country we may therefore expect to find some of it in Colorado. And we do, and this is it.

The civilization of the present time can only be maintained through the humiliation, ignorance and stupidity of the working class. We must have a slave population. Society was almost wrecked by the foolishness of our forefather liberals, who when driving out the English aristocrats, gave constitutions and liberal ideals and ambitions to the denizens of the black pool, provoking them to get out what it was known to all of us that the welfare of the whole business world of America depends upon them never getting out. The servile class had become hopeful

under the stars and stripes and therefore restless and dangerous. No, ignorance came to us from your remotest hovels of Europe, Asia or Cathay. Ho, negroism, Ho, numbing superstition, Ho, narrow tongueless men. Ho, ye who deny to idols with daggers and with poison. Ho, ye who cannot organize, come and mingle with our American people. Come and be our scab citizens, come and be the millstones around the neck of dangerous democracy which we are drowning in the dark slimy pool of poverty. Come and be our auxiliary troops in the glorious war for the degradation of American labor. And you shall be our future citizens. For in driving away nobility we drove foolishness into the minds of a people who cannot, must not, and shall not try to be free. The struggle in Colorado is America's act of self-revelation. It is a war for the deliberate and permanent degradation of labor.

"TO A CERTAIN EXTENT."

Did you ever meet the man who claims to be a Socialist "to a certain extent"?

He is not a very remarkable sort of person; there are too many of him to excite wonder. In the age of frauds he is too common to attract much notice. For he is a fraud none the less, though it is himself he is usually trying to cheat.

Generally, he is also a Republican to a certain extent, and a Democrat to a certain extent, and if he has heard anything of the New Tax, especially that it is harmless, he will also be in favor of it to a certain extent. In fact, he is to a certain extent whatever the person talking to him at the time may happen to be, for he always aims to be agreeable "to a certain extent."

And when he tells you that, he means that you should be satisfied, and not press the question any further. He knows that if he were asked "to what extent" he is not prepared to answer. Try him and see. One thing he knows about Socialism—that is, that it is growing. Of all else concerning it he is ignorant, and content to remain ignorant. He is the sort of person that wants to shout with the biggest crowd, and he is not quite certain that the Socialists may not be the biggest crowd in future.

He has heard that it is a virtue to be conservative and cautious, and at the same time a good policy not to offend people. He knows that he is not particularly interested in Socialism, but that to be agreeable he must appear so; that a soft answer turneth away wrath. So he hands out the softest answer he can think of, which is that he believes what you do, "to a certain extent."

But, though he is a most exasperatingly conservative and cautious, and it must not be forgotten that he has a certain evolution behind him. Ten years ago he would not have made his favorite admission as regards Socialism, though he knew as much about it then as he does now. He only recognizes the economic evolution that has taken place, by the fact that more people are talking about Socialism now, and that the number of its adherents will find arguments and respectability which he recognizes to be corresponding "certain" extent.

So, fraud though he be, he is still a sort of mile-post by which the progress of the movement may be measured. His title will increase as Socialism increases. Generally speaking, he is not wasting time or effort on. The man who vigorously opposes Socialism, and tries to find arguments against it, or the man who honestly wishes to learn about it, are better worth outgating. Even the man who tells you plainly that he will side with Socialism when it becomes stronger, is a more hopeful asset than the complaisant humbug who declares himself a "Socialist to a certain extent."

For the time assuredly draws nigh when you will not vote for, if we are to judge from the result of Colorado voting for an eight-hour law, still it must be remembered that the members of the legislature elected to enact the law were Republicans and Democrats and hence simply tools of the mine owners. If the people had elected Socialists to office they would have had their eight-hour bill passed without delay. The Colorado instance is worthy of notice by our direct legislation friends who have been persuading themselves that once the people had the initiative and referendum that the millennium was at hand. They counted without their Peabody and Bells. One might think that the measures being adopted by the Citizens' Alliance, in Colorado, would result in a landslide for the Socialist Party at the next Colorado election. But on the contrary it would seem that the Colorado workmen, with all their intelligence and courage, have not yet been sufficiently educated to see that their only genuine relief is to come through the Co-operative Commonwealth. Colorado may be making Socialists, but it is making more outside the state than it is in. If you care to be believed, —Wishire's Magazine.

THE FAILURE OF DIRECT LEGISLATION ALONE.

While it is true that voting for a measure does not seem to necessarily mean that you will vote for, if we are to judge from the result of Colorado voting for an eight-hour law, still it must be remembered that the members of the legislature elected to enact the law were Republicans and Democrats and hence simply tools of the mine owners. If the people had elected Socialists to office they would have had their eight-hour bill passed without delay. The Colorado instance is worthy of notice by our direct legislation friends who have been persuading themselves that once the people had the initiative and referendum that the millennium was at hand. They counted without their Peabody and Bells. One might think that the measures being adopted by the Citizens' Alliance, in Colorado, would result in a landslide for the Socialist Party at the next Colorado election. But on the contrary it would seem that the Colorado workmen, with all their intelligence and courage, have not yet been sufficiently educated to see that their only genuine relief is to come through the Co-operative Commonwealth. Colorado may be making Socialists, but it is making more outside the state than it is in. If you care to be believed, —Wishire's Magazine.

There is no help in the Democratic Party—except for the capitalists.

One reason why you should vote the ticket of your class, is because the capitalist votes the ticket of his class, and he is admitted everywhere to be in possession of a good working outfit of brains.

We have been waiting some time to hear labor leaders warn Mr. Parry not to go into politics lest it disrupt the "Citizens' Alliance."

